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## I.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO A HISTORY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE OF CANADA.

### I. PRELIMINARY. HISTORICAL.

Many surprises are in store for the scholar who for the first time goes to Lower Canada to study the people and their history, their language and their local customs, and he will generally have to begin by clearing his mind of ideas and prejudices that he has drawn from he scarcely knows where, before he can understand the past, much less the present, of this interesting folk. He has "heard" that the common man, the *habitant*, is extremely superstitious, that he speaks a patois, that he is suspicious of strangers and non-communicative, and that he has numerous amenities which belong to savage rather than to civilized beings. His nature, it is said, is so chilled by the icy winds of these northern regions that he can but imperfectly value the boon of human sympathy, and hence he is apathetic, distant in manner, morose, and altogether uninteresting. Such are a few only of the extravagant notions that must be corrected at the very beginning of his task, if the serious worker would comprehend what he finds about him. But while he is busy, by actual experience with the people themselves, in uprooting prejudices and gauging his preconceived ideas of their character to a standard of tolerable truth, he is again surprised to find the historical records of village and city so complete that, for the study not only of political but even of obscure personal history, abundant material is at hand, and this, often, down to the minutest details. Here it is not alone governmental acts that may be consulted on the faithful pages of

the originals or in copies belonging to the Departmental Bureau of Archives, but in the remotest and humblest country parish the same conscientious memorandums of village history are scrupulously preserved and spread before the student of history in the admirable church registers. So faithful and full are these documents that it has been possible for one of the most celebrated members of the Catholic church, the renowned Abbé Tanguay, of Ottawa, to write a *Genealogical Dictionary of the French People of Canada*. To us it is oftentimes a source of congratulation if, with all the elements of personal interest that attaches to kinship, we are able to descend the family tree for four or five generations and count its branches in unbroken succession, but in Canada the system of registration is so complete that in a single lifetime and by one man the herculean task has been accomplished of writing the genealogy of a whole people.

The meanest peasant here finds the complete record of his family history, extending back to the ancestor who left his hamlet in the old France to seek a home in the wilds of the new France. As one stands before the cases that contain the three hundred manuscript volumes of which this remarkable work is composed, each volume labelled, and to all intents and purposes ready for the printer, a feeling of deep admiration must, I think, arise in one's mind for a people who can leave to posterity such monuments of its individual life.

This land is thus, through its numerous and accurately written documents, a veritable Eldorado for the historian, and, as we shall see farther on, these favorable circumstances have developed some of the finest writers on history that our American Continent has known.

To the student of language, also, these church documents are of inestimable worth, as they enable him to follow the tangled threads of dialect influence by fixing the original home in the mother country of each family that helps to compose any given community. Fortunately for him, this labor has been shortened for the earliest periods of colonial history in the statistics collected by the celebrated historian, the Abbé Ferland, who has published, as an appendix to his *History of Canada*, the names and native towns of all the colonists that came to New France between 1615 and 1666 and whose record is preserved in the registers of Quebec and Three Rivers. This list, supplemented by the invaluable work of the Abbé Tanguay (only one volume is

published), would be sufficient to settle the original European elements that helped to make up the common Canadian speech. But, before we enter upon a critical examination of this language, it will be necessary to call to mind, as a preliminary to the study, a few leading events of the history, political, religious and social, of Canada; for here the historic growth of the people has had an influence on their language stronger than is to be found in most other places for which the original population was drawn from one and the same general linguistic territory.

The early colonists of Canada came from both North and South France, where in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the differences of dialect were more strongly marked than they are to-day; and then, almost before the fusion of these heterogeneous native elements had taken place, English was brought into contact with them, and exerted, particularly in the maritime districts, a permanent effect on both the vocabulary and word-setting of the new compound. The greater alienation from the mother country and the natural race-struggle that followed the conquest by the English in 1760 caused all the members of the Gallic stock to unite their forces against the common enemy, and this union produced again a strong tendency to uniformity of speech, furthered by the constant and intimate intercourse of the people with the clergy, who were generally the bitterest opponents to British rule. Thus the mixture, in the outset, of widely different Neo-Latin elements and the grafting on to these of Teutonic elements maintained by political supremacy, make any investigation of the language of Canada—a language common to the whole country and to the whole people, with very minor exceptions—to depend, in the first place, upon a general knowledge of those varying historical conditions through which the people have passed to their well-formed, thoroughly blended and vigorous speech of to-day.

The Cavalier King of France, François I, had just created the Collège de France (1529) and called about him many of the most celebrated scholars and artists of his age, such as Lascaris, Scaliger, Benvenuto Cellini, Andrea del Sarto and others, when his enterprising spirit pushed him to take part in the conquests of the New World, opened to Europe by Columbus. The first expedition he sent out, consisting of two small ships and sixty odd men, was put into the hands of Jacques Cartier, an intrepid navigator of Saint Malo, situated on the confines of Normandy. Cartier sailed out of

the French port St. Malo on April 20, 1534, and after a three months' voyage cast anchor in the Bay of Gaspé. Here for the first time the French set foot on American soil.<sup>1</sup>

Cartier, after having set up a cross with an inscription characteristic of his Gallic enthusiasm—*Vive le Roi de France!*—returned to his native land to report his success, and came out the following year with an increased force to extend his acquaintance with the New World. It was on this second voyage that he discovered the St. Lawrence, and spent the winter on the St. Charles river near its confluence with the St. Lawrence. He returned again to France in the following spring, and his sad winter experiences in these northern latitudes seem to have cooled for the moment the ardor of his desire for discovery, since we hear nothing of him for five years, when he set out on his third expedition with provisions for two years. Repeating the hardships of his previous sojourn on the American coast, he became discouraged and started for France the next spring, meeting off Newfoundland de Roberval, who had left Rochelle, on the borders of the Saintonge district, on the 16th of April, with a number of nobles and two hundred emigrants. These composed the first regular settlement of French in Canada. With this attempt by de Roberval to form a colony at Charlesbourg, a new and important element is introduced into these projects of French colonization. The Southern French here enter upon the scene, to play henceforth an important rôle in the commercial enterprises and in the establishment of the language of New France. His first attempt to found a colony having failed, however, de Roberval undertook a second expedition, five years later, but all were lost at sea, and then came a lull for more than a quarter of a century in the interest aroused about the French Canadian possessions. Though several expeditions were sent out during this time, it was not till 1608, when Quebec was founded by Samuel de Champlain, that a permanent foothold was taken by the French on the Saint Lawrence. The colonists had not yet been able to hold their own against the aborigines. With the latter, especially with the Algonquins and Hurons, Champlain entered into friendly relations, and thus secured for his colony immunity for the most part from those serious annoyances which had beset his predecessors.

<sup>1</sup> It was not till nearly thirty years after this (1562) that the first attempt was made by the Calvinists under Ribaut to form a colony on the coast of Florida. This expedition also came from Normandy (Dieppe).



Three years previously to this (1605), the first firm footing of the French on the American Continent had been taken in their settlement of Port Royal, now Annapolis, in Nova Scotia.<sup>1</sup> The colonists also who laid the foundation of this town were headed by two noblemen of the South, *Sieur de Monts*, and the founder of Quebec, *de Champlain*, both natives of Saintonge, the French province situated at the mouth of the Gironde river, and to-day forming approximately the Department of Lower Charente. But this was not their first voyage. In 1603 *Champlain* and a merchant, *Pontgravé*, of Saint Malo, had made, under the direction of *M. de Chates*, Governor of Dieppe at that time, a profitable expedition up the St. Lawrence, noting especially the fine harbor of Quebec. A few years earlier still, *Sieur de Monts* had visited the lower St. Lawrence, and was thus prepared to take the place of *de Chates*, who had not gone on the voyage of 1603 and who died while it was being made. Thus the chief enterprise of beginning the colonization of New France finally rested in the hands of two skilful navigators of Southern France. The one, *de Monts*, succeeded in establishing the first permanent colony at Port Royal, which afterwards drew principally from the South of France for its supplies of emigrants; the other, *de Champlain*, the "pioneer of civilization in Canada," moved up the river and planted his colony, three years later, near where *Cartier* spent the memorable winter when he discovered the St. Lawrence. Quebec, thus founded, soon became the capital of Canada, and remained so until 1867.

Not till about ten years after the choice of this site for a colony (1617) did the first family arrive with the intention of cultivating the soil.<sup>2</sup> This family, named *Hébert*, was of *Ile-de-France* origin, and consisted of five members, father, mother, two daughters and one son, who have left numerous descendants scattered throughout different parts of the present Dominion. But there was no rapid influx of colonists from the old country as might have been expected from this prosperous beginning. Only little more than two decades (1629) after the French standard had been planted on the banks of the St. Lawrence, Quebec passed into the hands of the English, its founder was taken prisoner to England, and nearly all the colonists returned to their homes in

<sup>1</sup> Manhattan river was discovered by Hudson in 1609; in 1625 Dutch colonists were sent to inhabit the island that now bears that name.

<sup>2</sup> Paul de Cazes, *Notes sur le Canada*, p. 23.

France. Only five families of what is known to-day as the *habitans* remained on the land, and one of these was this same Hébert stock just mentioned.

In 1633, Champlain returned to Canada as Governor-General, after Canada had been restored to France according to the treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye, and made special efforts to colonise the country, but at the time of his death, two years later, the whole European population in the colony did not number over two hundred souls.

The year before Champlain's death, de la Violette had laid the foundations of a new colony ninety miles up the river, where now is situated the town of Three Rivers, and it thus seemed as though an era of prosperity were opening for the sorely tried colonists. And a little more than thirty years (1642) after Champlain took possession of the ground where now rises the "Gibraltar of America," Paul de Chomedy, Sieur de Maisonneuve, laid the foundations of Ville Marie de Montreal, where "was planted that grain of mustard seed which, in the words of the enthusiastic Vimont (who had come out from the mother country with the expedition and had been named Superior of the Jesuits of New France), would soon grow and overshadow the land."

In this connection it must be constantly borne in mind that, while the first permanent inhabitants of Quebec were from North France, those of Montreal on the contrary came, for the most part, from the South. Sieur de Maisonneuve, the founder of the latter colony, was from Champagne, it is true; but of the three vessels that constituted his original expedition, two were fitted out at La Rochelle and one at Dieppe, and this Dieppe ship contained only about a dozen men.

Another point worthy of note is that Champlain was sent out by a company whose principal object was to establish commercial relations with the Indians, and that the opening of a new field for the Christian religion was a secondary matter. With Maisonneuve, on the contrary, duty was the guiding star of life, and in the original name of the city of Montreal we have an indication that the early settlement was the result of religious enthusiasm. "It shows an attempt to found in America a veritable Kingdom of God, as understood by devout Roman Catholics."<sup>1</sup> We must keep steadily in mind also this deep religious sentiment that

<sup>1</sup> Dawson, Handbook for the Dominion of Canada, pp. 123, 149. Montreal, 1884.

animated the founders of the French colony in Canada if we would understand the extraordinary faith of this people to-day, for nowhere else perhaps has belief a stronger living power than with these our neighbors of the North.<sup>1</sup> It has justly been stated by a recent writer that "a French Canadian settlement is founded on religion and democracy." Here exists no caste-distinction when prosperity and wealth attend the thrifty habits of a peasant; "the people are one family, and in this unity lies the secret of their strength as colonists."<sup>2</sup> Here the *Angelus* continues to solve practically the labor question that is so seriously harassing almost all other Christian communities; here the dictum of the priest or bishop is sufficient in many places to make the people forego the pleasures of the dance and other innocent amusements; here is the land of miracles, where the earnest, faithful pilgrim, whether halt or blind, is restored to the full vigor of his bodily functions under the quickening energy of some saint; where the rich and the poor, the well and the sick flock by tens of thousands to holy shrines to receive the rewards of their piety in greater personal comfort or in other temporal blessings.<sup>3</sup> The necessity thus arises for the clergy to mix constantly with the masses, and this intercourse has a direct and notable influence upon the speech both of the priest and of the people.

If we now ask how many were the colonists and of what particular Departments of France were they native up to the establishment of this third colonial centre on the Saint Lawrence, we find that, at the time of the restoration of Quebec to France, in accordance with the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, the colony did not count more than sixty members, and there were only four families regularly domiciled in the country. In the month of March 1633, Champlain, on his return to power after the treaty just mentioned, set sail from Dieppe with about two hundred persons all told. How many of these remained in the country we are not informed, but the registers of Quebec show only about seventy-five names up to the year (1641) before Maisonneuve established his colony. Of these, fifty-five, or more than two

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Johns Hopkins University Circulars, Vol. IV, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XLVIII, p. 778.

<sup>3</sup> I joined one of these pilgrimages which numbered about six thousand people, and saw a wonder performed in the restoration of a boy to health who had withered legs due to the effects of a fever, and who had not walked for eleven years.

thirds, were from the two provinces of Normandy and Perche; while other provinces of the North, such as Picardy, Ile-de-France, Bretagne, etc., only furnished two or three colonists each. Saintonge, Poitou and Aunis (whence Roberval's expedition set out), that had furnished the chief supply for the Port Royal settlement in the East (Acadia), are here scarcely represented.<sup>1</sup> In the final establishment of these three centres of colonial development on the Saint Lawrence, Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, we have, therefore, the spread of linguistic elements that were drawn chiefly from the North-French dialects. From this epoch forward we note the influx, through the influence especially of the Montreal settlement, of Southern French elements as represented by the Saintonge, Aunis and Poitou immigrants that spread throughout the province.

For the next quarter of a century there is a great increase of the population from the North, and the Southern additions to it have also been considerable, but not sufficient, however, to have any marked effect upon the general speech of the people. In the North, Normandy, again, has furnished the chief installment of colonists; in truth, more than double that of any other Department of France, while, for the South, Aunis has contributed the largest share of emigrants. The total supply as drawn from the whole of North France is more than five times as great as that furnished by South France during this short period. It is evident, therefore, that, for the linguistic territory representing the middle St. Lawrence, we must look especially for Northern French characteristics, for all the early period of settlement of the country. These traits of Northern French speech, blended and re-worked by clergy and people, have produced the compound which we shall have to examine farther on. We shall find, very naturally, traces of South French influence here and there, but these cannot be reckoned as a seriously disturbing element, not even where the regular Canadian French language comes into contact with speech-oases consisting of Southern French dialects, used in a few scattered villages of Acadians, such as St. Grégoire, Bécancourt, etc., that are situated on the south of the St. Lawrence, opposite Three Rivers, and thus fall in the middle zone of the territory examined.

With the first conquest (1629) of Canada by the English (Quebec then meant Canada), not only was a check given to

<sup>1</sup> Ferland, *Cours d'Histoire du Canada*, Première Partie, 1534-1663, Appendix C, p. 511.

immigration, but, as we have seen, the great majority of those who had settled in New France returned to their native country. After the restoration of Canada to France, as noted above, the current again set in from the mother country, and continued to flow uninterruptedly till another break came by foreign occupation in 1760. It is true that the first interruption was only temporary, but in the nascent state of the colony at that time it was destined to set back the growth of French influence on the St. Lawrence for many years. We thus see that in Canada, for a little more than a century and a quarter, the French were left to themselves, and by natural increase and constant immigration their number had increased from the half-dozen families after the restoration in 1632, to about sixty thousand souls at the conquest in 1760. We have noticed what a long series of ineffectual attempts followed the discovery of the St. Lawrence in 1535, before a final permanent settlement was made on its borders three-quarters of a century later (1608); in truth, for at least one hundred and fifty years after the discovery of the country the growth of the population was almost nothing. It was particularly the two or three generations preceding the conquest, that is, during the last quarter of the sixteenth century and in the first half of the seventeenth century, that the germs were securely planted in Canada for the development of a stable and important French population. By natural increase and by immigration the rapid growth of the colony was assured, and yet when the English came to cut off suddenly this continued development from outside sources the colony numbered a few tens of thousands only. Immigration from the native land then ceased, and since that date the country has had to depend on its own resources for increase of population. This increase must appear phenomenal when we remember that during the last century and a quarter the numbers have grown to be more than thirty-three times what they were when immigration ceased, that is, the French people of Canada and their immediate offspring now number about two millions, including the half a million who have settled in the United States.

It was, then, during the century that immediately preceded the introduction of English rule into Canada that the French element rapidly developed, not only from the sources within itself, but also from immigration from the mother country, whence a strong current was pouring in to swell the colonial material. The surrender to the English of the city of Quebec on Sept. 18, 1760,



gave the final blow to French domination on the American Continent. This is a date to be kept in mind, as it brings in the third linguistic element hinted at above, which henceforth is to exercise an important influence on certain parts of the language territory already covered by the French. The speech of the latter had remained pure, for the most part, up to this time. Though the Indian population in Canada amounted to many thousand souls, they were separated into so numerous tribes and tribal divisions that their dialects have had almost no sensible effect on the French grammar, and have contributed here and there only a few words to the original French vocabulary. Now that the English was introduced and supported by official authority, in addition to that natural mixture of native French dialects that would come about by commercial intercourse, we have a second foreign element, whose disturbing influence is especially felt in the maritime districts where the British principally settled.

In 1653, fifty years after the arrival on the coast of Acadia (Nova Scotia) of the first French colonists in America, the total population of Canada did not surpass 2500 inhabitants of European origin.<sup>1</sup> When the first census was taken a dozen years later, it was found that, throughout the territory occupied by the French, there were only 538 families, representing 3215 inhabitants. A hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the first settlement in Acadia (1604), and the total French element amounted (1754) to only about 55,000 souls, and, on the formal cession of Canada to England in accordance with the Treaty of Paris a decade after this (1763), the white population was counted at scarcely 65,000 souls. With this occupation of the country by the British there was naturally a great influx of English into the newly acquired possessions, so that, when the first census was taken by the English government five years (1765) after the fall of Quebec, the population had increased with surprising rapidity, marking an increment of about twenty thousand on the numbers they had found in the land, and ten years later (1775) again, the population had reached ninety thousand, or an average growth of two thousand per annum since the occupation. In these fifteen years, then, we find the population had increased by about one-third, and the new element that had been poured into it was English.<sup>2</sup> The French were restricted to natural development within themselves, since the

<sup>1</sup> De Cazes, Notes sur le Canada, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> De Cazes, Notes sur le Canada, p. 62; *ibidem*, p. 85.

conquest was the signal, as we have noted, for all immigration from France to cease. In order to exercise a better control over the discordant elements, arising from difference of race, the English government divided the colony in 1791 into two divisions, Upper and Lower Canada. The whole colony at this time counted a hundred and thirty-five thousand inhabitants, of whom about fifteen thousand were English, and of this English population Upper Canada had ten thousand only. It was about this time, too, *i. e.* between 1784-90, that the population of Montreal began to surpass that of Quebec. The former counted 18,000, the latter 14,000 inhabitants. Towards the beginning of the present century (1806) the relation of Lower to Upper Canada in point of population was about three and one-half to one, and it was not till the middle of the century that we have the balance turned in favor of Upper Canada. In 1861 Upper Canada had gone ahead of its sister by nearly three hundred thousand, and this superiority in numbers gave, of course, to the English-speaking element a great advantage over the French, in that the legislative representation was based upon the population. The Act of Confederation in 1867, three-quarters of a century after the division of the colony, put an end to the struggle between the two sections, in that it gave to each independence with reference to everything that pertains to questions of local administration.

The province of Quebec counts now 254,841 families, composed of 678,175 men and 689,852 women. From this it will be seen that the population of men and women is about the same, and that the average to each family is more than five members.<sup>1</sup> Large families, in truth, are the rule everywhere. Mr. Ouimet, the present able Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Province of Quebec, is the twenty-sixth child in his family, and it is a most common thing to find families of twenty-five to thirty children by the same mother. A race, whether of the Latin or of any other stock, which has been known to celebrate fourteen golden weddings at one time in a single parish is not likely ever to be anglicised or stamped out by royal edicts. But this prolificness is the simple continuance of a state of things that was encouraged by the early colonisers and rulers of the province. Colbert provided the colonist with a wife and did everything in his power to encourage large families by royal premiums. A royal gratuity of twenty francs was given to young men who married at twenty years or

<sup>1</sup> Paul de Cazes, *Notes sur le Canada*, p. 91.

under, and to girls who found husbands before they were sixteen. It was no uncommon thing in these early days for the united ages of the bride and groom to fall short of thirty years. A premium of three hundred francs was awarded to parents with ten living children, and of four hundred to those who had twelve<sup>1</sup> children.

As a natural effect of this rapid increase in population, we find a gradual uprooting of the weaker race in point of numbers, that is, the English. Nor is it to the west alone, as with the people of the United States, that the French race is spreading. Masters of the lower St. Lawrence, they are daily penetrating farther and farther to the east and south. In four counties of New Brunswick: Victoria, Ristigouche, Gloucester, and Kent, they already have more than ten thousand majority.

Repatriation societies have been established, and are actively at work to bring back those who have gone forth to seek new homes in the United States. Thousands of good, thrifty citizens have thus been restored to their native stock, whose force they materially increase in the determined race struggle that is now going on in Canada. One of the principal centres of this species of colonisation is Sherbrook, established as a diocese in 1874 for Mgr. Racine (Antoine), formerly of Quebec, the initiator of this important movement. Two decades ago Sherbrook was a small English village of no importance whatever; it now numbers, through the efforts of the Repatriation Society, nearly eight thousand inhabitants, of whom more than three-fourths are French. It is no wonder, then, in view of these facts, that some enthusiastic French writers should have proclaimed the superiority of Franco-Canadian colonisation over that of the English. Wherever the Canadian Frenchman settles he clings to the soil, never abandoning his foothold, and eventually assimilates his brother colonist of Anglo-Saxon blood, unless the latter withdraws entirely and gives up his home to the all-absorbing Gaul.

The French population now occupies seven-eighths of Lower Canada. The English element, after a hard fight, has virtually renounced the struggle to hold the province, and, discouraged, has retired or is rapidly retiring from this part of the field. The wonderfully absorbing power of the French element has here produced the curious phenomenon of a people, in certain parts of the country, who bear all the racial characteristics of the English

<sup>1</sup> The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XLVIII, p. 773.

or Scotch, such as the blue eyes, light hair, florid faces, and who have the name of Warren, Fraser, McDonald, McPherson, etc., but also are still unable to speak a word of the mother tongue. The English names of roads, of towns, of counties, give abundant proof as to who were the occupants of the soil a few years ago. To-day it is the offspring of the Gallic stock that possess the land. Their unswerving purpose, encouraged by the clergy, is to take back their old domains by the peaceful process of repopulating them with descendants of their own blood, and, at the present rate of increase, we may safely predict that it will not be many generations before they shall have accomplished this unique feat.

At Montreal the French element is progressing apace. Though the population (about one hundred and fifty thousand) is here pretty nearly balanced between the French, on the one hand, and the different race elements, such as English, Scotch, Irish, etc., on the other, yet the number of children is more than double in favor of the Gaul, being as 65:32 of all other nationalities. It is evident, therefore, that in a few generations, if this condition of things continues, the French will be in an overwhelming majority.<sup>1</sup> If we pass a little farther to the west we find that two counties of Upper Canada, Russell and Prescott, have already fallen into the hands of the French, and they number now more than a hundred thousand souls in this province. But nowhere else, perhaps, is the spread of the Gallic race more marked than in the town of Ottawa, Capital of the Dominion. Here, after hardly a dozen years of existence, the town began to turn French, so that now it is more French than English. The *habitant*, having thus crossed the line between Upper and Lower Canada, is marching westward through the counties mentioned above, and northward up the valley of the Ottawa river. He has planted settlements in the fertile prairie region of the Saskatchewan, a river that affords 1500 miles of steamboat navigation. The comparatively new English settlements of the eastern townships are being overrun. "Somerset becomes Saint-Morisette; Stamford, Sainte-Folle; Boulton, Bouton; as parish after parish is invaded by the race which England thought she had effaced on the Plains of Abraham. They have swarmed over the boundary between Canada and the United States, and the sixty-five thousand peasants left to shift for themselves in the abandoned colony that Voltaire described as 'a few arpents of snow' have increased to so great a degree out of their own loins that now 'the

. <sup>1</sup> Cf. *Le Correspondant*, 1877, p. 292.

land is filled with them.'"<sup>1</sup> It has been very properly suggested, with reference to them, that "if at this present time the French race manifests a vitality in Canada as mysterious to its enemies as to the Frenchmen of the France to-day, it is because of the imperishable power of the self-sacrifice and heroism of so many of those men, laymen as well as clerics, who planted the standard of France on the shores of the St. Lawrence."

An important feature of external influence upon the language must be noted in the seigniorial tenure which prevailed for about two centuries and a half throughout Lower Canada. This feudal institution of France, which was introduced into the new country in order to favor colonisation, with the various modifications that were wrought in it to suit local usages, proved to be an admirable system for the creation of a peasant proprietary. The seigneurs were generally the second sons of noble families, who chose the better class of peasants to accompany them to their homes in America, and here each ruler laid out on the river his little kingdom, generally one-half by three leagues in dimensions, and as he was compelled to lease and sell, his own private estate thus never became excessively large. His land was divided among his colonists in concessions of three by thirty arpents. This arrangement produced a series of centres of civilisation in which the lord and his educated friends were brought into intimate contact with the common people; in truth, we have abundant evidence to show that the relation of the seigneur to his people was much more intimate in these early settlements of Canada than in the mother country. But it was not the seigneurs alone who belonged, for the most part, to the highest nobility. Mgr. de Laval-Montmorency, Bishop of Petraea, was sent to Canada to fill the office of Apostolic Vicar. He was the first Bishop of Quebec, after whom the celebrated University Laval of Quebec was named in 1854, and was of pure Montmorency blood; ladies of rank and fortune were the founders and patrons of the first religious establishments in the country, among which were the Hôtel-Dieu at Quebec, established by the Duchess d'Aiguillon, and the Convent of the Ursulines, founded by Madame de la Peltrie, a beautiful young widow of Alençon. The governors and other state officers were of the highest nobility. It is not strange therefore, considering these circumstances, that the effects of association with persons of the best culture should have remained in the manners of the *habitant* up to this day. He had,

<sup>1</sup> Atlantic Monthly, Vol. XLVIII, p. 771.



both from the side of the clergy and from that of his rulers, a marked advantage over his brother at home, and his speech bears especial traces of this influence in its near approach, in word-supply and construction, to the literary language of that age.

After the conquest by the English (1760), several thousand colonists, mostly the seigneurs and their families, returned to France, but the feudal tenure was continued down to 1854, when it was abolished at a cost of several millions of dollars to the United Provinces. A few years before the abolition of the seigniorial title, statistics show that more than two hundred seigneurs existed in the country. Thus was extinguished an institution that had been formally established in 1627, when by royal charter the rule of the colony was vested in the Hundred Associates. This long continuance of a system that directly and unceasingly affected the life of the *habitant* must naturally leave strong and indelible traces on his character, and almost equally marked effects upon his language. By the departure of the nobles, as just noted, the line of demarcation between the upper and lower elements of society became much less stable, and all classes were more thoroughly mixed than they had ever been before. Besides this we must remember that the colonists were facing a common enemy, and a union of their interests was a necessity. Thus originated that unity of feeling which has been fostered among the French people of Canada in all their fierce struggles for more extensive privileges and better protected rights, and thus it is too that the several attempts to deprive them of their dearest heritage, their religion and their language, have been utter failures. For the last century and a quarter the French nationality of Canada has grouped itself about the clergy, who have always been its most energetic defenders. "The history of the priesthood is the history of the country." At the time the English conquered Canada, elementary instruction was chiefly in the hands of the Jesuits, with whom it remained up to 1800, when their property was confiscated by the Government, the parish schools were closed, and it was not till 1841 that the church got back into her power the primary education of the people. The crusade, in this case, against Catholic instruction was carried to so great an extreme that the influence of the clergy was declared to be subversive of all established government. The clergy, however, ever faithful to their mission as the guardians and educators of youth, not only held to their rights, but pushed the principle of separate schools until they

triumphed in 1863, and now the Catholics have their instruction separate from the Protestants throughout Lower Canada.

The plan of work here carried out in collecting material for a treatment of the French language of Canada was to select certain localities that would serve as bases to move from. These were convenient in this case, as the ends of the linguistic line chosen and its middle point were also the original settlements established on it, that is, Montreal, Three-Rivers, and Quebec, which I took as so many natural centres of growth, and worked out towards the circumference or limits of the region examined, extending back in some cases to more than fifty miles from the St. Lawrence river. Beginning with the west I moved east, covering the main peculiarities of language in the valley of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Quebec. To the west of Montreal, as far as Ottawa, I was able to collect a few data bearing upon the gradual mixture of the French and English; to the east of Quebec my observations were extended to a few points on the north side of the river down as far as the small village St. Tite, about forty miles distant. The distance between the two extremes of this working line measures exactly one hundred and eighty miles, and will doubtless appear to those unacquainted with the linguistic territory as far too extensive to be characterized with even a moderate degree of accuracy. To this doubt I must reply that, acting the part of pioneer, my chief object was to gather the leading features of the language, and thus establish the main local characteristics which are necessary to be known before individual centres can be worked out with profit. In doing this, to my great surprise, I found a uniformity of speech for this whole district which must impress, as little less than wonderful, every one who has been accustomed to note the great and often puzzling differences of idiom that exist in European countries. The causes that produced this sameness of word-form and expression are often complex, as will be seen when we come to the treatment of different parts of the language. The social and political influences, religious and race antipathies, glanced at above, have done much to weld together the otherwise discordant elements of this population and produce a homogeneousness that is truly characteristic, if we consider the variety of elements that constituted the original native society. Their effects are easily traceable in the community of language of the *habitant* and the city bred, of the uneducated and the learned.

A. M. ELLIOTT.

## II.—ARM-PITTING AMONG THE GREEKS.

An ancient Greek, if he murdered a man, used sometimes to mutilate the body of his victim in a peculiar way. This fact and the verb denoting the mutilation are known to us from two classic passages, both relating to the same case—the indignities offered by Clytemnestra to the corpse of Agamemnon. These passages are Aesch. Cho. 439 sqq.:

ἐμασχαλίσθη δέ γ', ὡς τόδ' εἰδῆς,<sup>1</sup>

and Soph. El. 444 sqq.:

ὑφ' ἧς (sc. Κλυταιμνήστρας) θανὼν ἄτιμος, ὥστε δυσμενῆς,  
ἐμασχαλίσθη καπὶ λουτροῖσιν κάρᾳ  
κηλίδας ἐξέμαξεν.<sup>2</sup>

In the first, the subject is Agamemnon; in the second, the subject of ἐξέμαξεν is, perhaps rather harshly, supplied from ὑφ' ἧς.

The present paper concerns itself with two points—first, In what did the μασχαλίζειν consist? and second, What did the murderer hope to gain by it,—what, in other words, was the rationale of the μασχαλίζειν?

Of the simple meaning of the verb there cannot be much doubt. The Lexicons of Photius, Suidas, and Hesychius (all under the word μασχαλίσματα), the Etym. Magn. (s. v. ἀπάργματα), and Isaac Vossius's MS (p. 333, 53 of Gaisford's Et. M.) agree in testifying that it was customary for those who had treacherously slain a man to cut off the extremities of his limbs, string the pieces together, and fasten them under the armpits of the corpse by a band or girdle round the neck. To do this was μασχαλίζειν; the fragments so treated were μασχαλίσματα.<sup>3</sup> This explanation rests ultimately

<sup>1</sup> For ὡς τόδ' εἰδῆς the Med. has τωστοστείδης. The reading does not affect the argument.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. R. iv 477-480, usually adduced as a *locus classicus*, will be more conveniently and more appropriately treated as a scholium.

<sup>3</sup> The μασχαλίσματα were also called, in a general way, ἀκρωτηριάσματα, "bits cut off of the extremities" (Et. M. p. 118, 22; Hesych. s. v. τομία, n. 1111, IV 164 Schmidt; Schol. Ap. R. iv 477), ἀκρωτήρια (Et. M. *ib.*), ἀπάργματα (*ib.*), ἐξάργματα (Ap. R. iv 477, cf. Schol.), τομία and ἀποτμήματα (Hesych. s. v. τομία).

on the authority of Aristophanes of Byzantium, whose gloss, as preserved by Photius and Suidas, is thus restored by Nauck (Ar. Byz. Frag. lxxviii, p. 221). I give the variants not only from these two lexicographers, but from Hesych. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα* (n. 381, III 75 Schmidt), a gloss evidently from the same source.<sup>1</sup>

*Μασχαλίσματα*: 'Αριστοφάνης<sup>2</sup> παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν 'Ηλέκτρᾳ κείσθαι τὴν λέξιν ἔθος σημαίνουσιν. οἱ γὰρ φονεύσαντες<sup>3</sup> ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τινὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ (τὴν)<sup>4</sup> μῆνιν ἐκκλίνειν ἀκρωτηριάσαντες<sup>5</sup> μόρια<sup>6</sup> τούτου<sup>7</sup> καὶ<sup>8</sup> ὀρμαθίσαντες<sup>9</sup> ἐξεκρέμασαν<sup>10</sup> τοῦ<sup>11</sup> τραχήλου διὰ τῶν μασχαλῶν διείραντες, καὶ μασχαλίσματα προσηγόρευσαν.<sup>12</sup>

With this agrees very well, so far as the meaning of the verb is concerned, Et. Magn. and Vossius's MS (ll. cc.) and the last part of Schol. Laur. on Soph. El. 445.<sup>13</sup> To these may be added the short gloss in Hesych.: *μασχαλισθῆναι. ἀνηρτῆσθαι ἐκ τῶν μασχαλῶν* (n. 383, III 75 Schmidt). The Schol. Ap. R. is not at variance with the rest; he merely says that the *ἀκρωτηριάσματα* were hung

It should be noticed that the only special word of all these is *μασχαλίσματα*, which signifies "the pieces [cut off and put] under the armpits"; whereas the others, used sometimes simply for purposes of definition, denote merely "cut off extremities" or the like, and have no particular reference to the peculiar features of the mutilation. *Μασχαλίσματα* was also used to denote pieces from the shoulder placed upon the thighs in sacrifice, a meaning which may account for some of the confusion we shall meet with later on.

<sup>1</sup> Phot. = Phot. Lex. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα*, p. 249, 19 Porson; Suid. = Suid. Lex. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα*, II, pt. 1, p. 726, 19 Bernh.; Hesych. = Hesych. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα*, III 75 Schmidt; N. = Nauck.

<sup>2</sup> Excidit opinor φησί. N. Suid. per errorem affirmat ipsum voc. *μασχάλισμα* Aristophanem gramm. legi ap. Soph. in El. perhibuisse, qui haud dubie verbum *μασχαλίζω* dixerat. Dind. in Steph. Thes. Gr. s. v. *μασχάλισμα*, V 611 C.

<sup>3</sup> Hesych.'s gloss begins here abruptly with *φονεύσαντες* [(οἱ) φον. Sch.], all that precedes, except the lemma, being omitted.

<sup>4</sup> τοῦ τὴν μῆνιν, Suid. Hesych.

<sup>5</sup> ἐκκλίνειν ἀκρωτηριάσαν, Hesych.

<sup>6</sup> τὰ μόρια, Hesych.

<sup>7</sup> τούτων, Suid. Hesych.

<sup>8</sup> After τούτων Hesych. adds οἶον ὧτων, ῥινῶν.

<sup>9</sup> ὀρμάσαντες, Phot. Hesych. omits, putting *ἐρείσαντες* in its place and leaving out *διείραντες*, which latter word Junius proposed to restore instead of *ἐρείσαντες*. Schmidt accepts the conjecture.

<sup>10</sup> ἐξεκρέμασαν Phot., ἐκρέμων Hesych.

<sup>11</sup> ἐκ τοῦ, Hesych.

<sup>12</sup> καὶ . . . προσηγόρευσαν Hesych. om.

<sup>13</sup> Et. M.: τὰ δὲ ἀκρωτήρια εἰροντες καὶ συρράπτοντες διὰ τῶν τοῦ νεκροῦ μασχαλῶν καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου, περιετίθουν τῷ νεκρῷ. Cod. Voss.: τῶν μορίων ὀρμαθὸν ποιήσαντες κρεμᾶν κατὰ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ τῶν μασχαλῶν. Schol. Soph.: περὶ τὴν μασχάλην αὐτοῦ ἐκρέβαζον, and περιάπτειν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ ἄκρα συνείραντες διὰ τούτων. But this last is from the first part of the Scholium and the context differs from Aristophanes. See the next note but one.

from the neck, neglecting to mention the armpits at all. From these passages it is evident that Paley has all the scholiasts against him when he says (ad Aesch. *l. c.*) that the extremities were cut off and "tied with a band (*μασχαλιστήρ*) round the waist." There can be no doubt that the band was passed round the neck and the mutilated pieces "slung" by means of it under the armpits of the corpse. The atrocity was committed on the bodies of men slain by treachery, or, in general, on the bodies of murdered kinsmen. Hermann (ad Soph. *El. l. c.*) is apparently mistaken, in saying that those *μασχαλίζουσι* "qui aliquem per insidias vel in bello civili necassent." The "per insidias" is abundantly justified by the *ἐπιβουλῆς* of Ar. Byz. and the use of *δολοφονέω* in the Et. M.; but the "in bello civili" rests only on the Schol. Laur. Soph., *οἱ δρῶντες ἐμφύλιον φόνον*. To deny that *ἐμφύλιος φόνος* may mean "death inflicted in civil war, in *ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος*," would be folly; but it seems more likely, inasmuch as the scholiast is annotating a passage that has to do with the murder of a husband by his wife, that *ἐμφύλιος* is used in the more restricted sense of "kindred," and that *ἐμ. φόνος* denotes "the murder of a relative," like *ἐμφύλιον αἶμα* (Pind. P. ii 57), *τοῦμφυλον αἶμα* (Soph. O. C. 407), etc. This is a minor point, however, and need not be pressed.

Just how far the mutilation went is not perfectly clear. It is commonly asserted that only the extremities of the hands and feet were cut off.<sup>1</sup> But this is not expressly stated by Aristophanes. Indeed, in the form in which Hesych. gives the gloss, we have seen (supra, p. 152) that, after *ἀκρωτηριάσαντες τὰ μόρια τούτων*, is added *οἶον ὧτων, ῥινῶν*; and the first part of Schol. Soph.<sup>2</sup> says: *ἐκ παντὸς μέρους τοῦ σώματος ἀποταμνόμενοι*. Since we are sure, however, of the hands and feet, this point too may be waived as unimportant.

The second point of our discussion, What was the purpose of the arm-pitting? brings us at once into a chaos of conflicting evidence. The ultimate object of the mutilation was, of course, to escape the consequences of the crime; but just what consequences did the criminal have in mind and how did he expect to gain immunity from them by such means? There are two main theories

<sup>1</sup> E. g., "extremas manuum partes amputasse." Herm. *l. c.*

<sup>2</sup> In referring to Schol. Soph. *El.* 445 I have used "first part" and "last part" (or *α* and *β*) arbitrarily to distinguish two different glosses found with others in that scholium, (*α*) *εἰώθεσαν . . . ἔλεγον*, (*β*) *ἐπὶ ταῖς καθάρσεσι . . . τοῦ Ἰάσονος*. These two glosses do not agree and are separated by an *ἄλλως*.



that claim to answer these questions, and they may be called for convenience the Müller theory and the Paley theory:<sup>1</sup>

I. The *μασχαλίζειν* was a part of the *ἀφοσιώσεις*. The cut-off extremities were the *ἀπαρχή* of the victim, a sin-offering to the infernal gods to expiate the murder.<sup>2</sup>

II. The mutilation of the body was supposed to effect a corresponding mutilation of the soul, so that the shade, deprived of its limbs, would be powerless to take vengeance on the criminal.

Before appealing to the scholiasts, we should get all we can out of our two loci classici, which seem, to be sure, non-committal at first sight to either theory. The line in the Choephoroe is spoken by the chorus to Orestes, who is come to avenge his father's death. The long *κομμός* in which the line occurs is in great measure taken up with dwelling on the enormity of the crime of Clytemnestra, and that enormity is shown to consist not only in the bare and dreadful fact that she treacherously killed her husband by a shameful death, but in the fact that she aggravated her guilt by all manner of insults to his corpse. "Had he been slain before Troy, then would he have had an honorable tomb in a strange land; then would he reign a king among the dead, even as he was a king among mortal men" (345-361). "But you buried him like a foe, mother; you dared put him away unmourned; you banished the citizens from his funeral; you forbade all signs of grief" (429-433). It is when the anger of Orestes has been raised to fever heat by words like these that the chorus allege the crowning insult offered by Clytemnestra to her lord. "He was arm-pitted! As she treated him, so she buried him. So far did she do your father

<sup>1</sup> These names are of course pure conventions. The "Müller theory" is the theory of Ap. Rhodius and perhaps of Hermann. The "Paley theory" is well put by Stanley (ad Aesch. Cho. 437): *hoc enim pacto manes caesorum impediri censebant, quo minus ipsos persequi atque infestare possint*. Stanley also quotes Triclinius (ad Soph. El. 448): *ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἡνίκα τινὰ διεχρήσαντο, ἀκρωτηριάζειν αὐτὸν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς μασχάλῃς ταῦτα τιθέναι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίουν ἵνα ἀνίσχυρον αὐτὸν ἐργάζωνται διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τομῆς πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀμνην ἦν οἱ νεκροὶ τοὺς ζῶντας ἀμύνονται, ἐριννὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτέμποντες*. This is a learned *rifacimento* of the Laurentian scholium, with some additions from Triclinius's own head.

<sup>2</sup> "Zu dem *ἀφοσιοῦσθαι* des Mordes gehört der alte, seltsame Gebrauch des *ἀκρωτηριάζειν*, der *μασχαλίσματα* oder *ἀπάργματα* von der Leiche des Ermordeten." K. O. Müller, *Eum.* §58, n. 16 (p. 144, ed. 1833). This would be "analogous to the consecration of a person to Hades by cutting off a lock of hair." Eur. Alc. 75; Jebb on Soph. *l. c.* from Paley on Aesch. *l. c.*

dishonor, my son."<sup>1</sup> So furious does Orestes become at these words and at Electra's assertion that she was not allowed to attend her father's funeral, that the chorus, eager till now to spur him on to the utmost, are constrained to calm his wrath, and beg him to temper his rage with prudence (451 sqq.). To the chorus, then, and to Orestes, the *μασχαλίζειν* is the culmination of a series of atrocities—among which are the shameful murder and the neglect of proper burial rites—which rob Agamemnon of his just rank in Hades and make his shade weak and miserable, and if weak, unable therefore to take vengeance on his murderers. Evidently the Müller theory gets no support from this passage, which, if it looks either way, rather favors the views of Paley.

The Electra mentions the *μασχαλίζειν* in that speech in which the heroine is urging Chrysothemis not to offer Clytemnestra's libations at the tomb of Agamemnon. "Do you think," she cries, "that the dead man will accept offerings from one who killed him dishonorably, from one by whom he was arm-pitted, and who, in expiation, wiped her bloody sword upon his head?"<sup>2</sup> In this passage careful attention should be paid to the order of words. Expiation is mentioned, to be sure, but how? The poet says *not*, "*In expiation she arm-pitted him and wiped the blood-spots from her sword upon his head*," but "*He was arm-pitted, and in expiation she wiped her sword*," etc. Here, if there is any meaning in arrangement in any language, "by way of expiation" (*ἐπὶ λουτροῖσιν*) cannot be taken with *ἐμασχαλίσθη*, but must go with *ἐξέμαξεν* alone. It was a deadly insult to arm-pit the corpse; it was a deadly insult to wipe the sword on the dead man's head, as if to expiate the crime of the murderer by laying the guilt upon the victim. Electra mentions two distinct insults in a breath. She says that one of them was an expiatory ceremony; she does not say that the other was, and by not saying so she half implies the contrary. The evidence

<sup>1</sup> ἐμασχαλίσθη δὲ γ', ὥς τόδ' εἰδῆς.  
ἐπρασσε δ' ἄπ' ἐρ νιν, ὥδε θάπτει,  
μόρον κτίσαι μωμένα  
ἀφερτον αἰῶνι σῶ.  
κλύεις πατρώους δῖας ἀτίμους.

<sup>2</sup> σκέψαι γὰρ εἰ σοι προσφιλῶς αὐτῇ δοκεῖ  
γέρα τὰδ' οἶν τάφουσι δέξασθαι νέκυς  
ὑφ' ἧς θανὼν ἀτίμος, ὥστε δυσμενῆς,  
ἐμασχαλίσθη καὶ πὶ λουτροῖσιν κάρα  
κηλίδας ἐξέμαξεν. 442-446.

afforded by this passage is important, though negative. The Paley theory is not directly strengthened, but the Müller theory is certainly shaken.

It remains to examine the scholiasts and grammarians—to cut our way through a tangled jungle of incongruous annotation. The following may serve as a provisional list of “authorities,” a list that will be shortened and simplified as we proceed :

(i) Ar. Byz. in Phot. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα* (= Suid. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα* = Hesych. s. v. *μασχαλίσματα*).

(ii) Ap. Rhod. *Argonaut.* v 477-480.

(iii) Schol. Ap. Rhod. *l. c.*

(iv) Et. Magn. s. v. *ἀπάργματα*.

(v) Suid. s. v. *ἐμασχαλίσθη* (= Isaac Vossius's MS in Gaisf.'s n. to Etym. M. p. 333, 53 = Apostol. Prov. xi 4 (p. 516 v. Leutsch) = Arsen. *Violetum* xxxv 14, p. 348 Walz).

(vi) Schol. Soph. El. 445 (α) } = (in different order) Suid. s. v.

(vii) Schol. Soph. El. 445 (β) } *μασχαλίσθηναι*, II 725, 17 Bernh.

Taking this catalogue as it stands, we have the following results. Ar. Byz. asserts that the *μασχαλίζειν* was *ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν* (sc. *τοῦ θανόντος*) *μῆνιν ἐκκλίνειν*;<sup>1</sup> Et. M. that it was *ἀφοσιῶσαι τὸν φόνον*; Ap. R. that, with other ceremonies, it was *θέμεις αὐθέντησι δολοκτασίας ἱλάεσθαι*; Schol. Ap. R. that, with other ceremonies, it was *πρὸς τὸ ἐξιλάσασθαι τὴν δολοφονίαν*; Suid. (v) that it was perpetrated by those *τὸ ἔργον ἀφοσιούμενοι*; Schol. Soph. α, very explicitly, that men did it *ὥσπερ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείνων* (sc. *τῶν θανόντων*) *ἀφαιρούμενοι*, διὰ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν εἰς ὕστερον τὶ παρ' ἐκείνων δεινόν. Schol. Soph. β is, however, rather confused;—people did this, to be sure, *ἐπὶ ταῖς καθάρσεσι*, but the motive was *ἵνα, φησὶν, ἀσθενὴς γένοιτο* (sc. *ὁ θανὼν*) *πρὸς τὸ ἀντιτίσασθαι τὸν φονέα*. To sum up, Ar. Byz. and Schol. Soph. apparently favor the Paley theory; Ap. R. and his Schol., Et. Magn., and Suid. (v) support the theory of Müller. A closer examination of these

<sup>1</sup> There is small need of argument on the meaning of the vague *τὴν μῆνιν ἐκκλίνειν*. To be sure, the words, taken by themselves, might be interpreted, “to avert the wrath of the murdered man by expiatory offerings”; but the idea that the angry ghost of Agamemnon could be propitiated by sacrificing to him his own fingers and toes is too absurd to be entertained. Besides Ar.'s words were a note on Soph. El. 445, where it is distinctly asserted that the mutilation is a cause of bitter wrath to Agamemnon. Again, *τὴν μῆνιν* might be held to mean the wrath, not of the murdered man, but of the infernal gods; but this is to do violence to the plain reference of the *τὴν*, to say nothing of the fact that insults to a corpse can hardly have been pleasant to the gods of the dead.

passages will reveal certain connections and derivations that may simplify the evidence.

We may begin with Apollonius, who, whatever his merits as a poet, is for our present purpose to be regarded as a scholar and annotator. The passage is Arg. iv 477-80. Jason has killed Medea's brother Apsyrtus:

"Ἡρως δ' Αἰσονίδης ἐξάργματα τάμνε θανόντος,  
 τρίς δ' ἀπέλειξε φόνου, τρίς δ' ἐξ ἄγος ἔπτυσ' ὀδόντων,  
 ἢ θέμις αὐθέντησι δολοκτασίας ἰλάεσθαι.  
 ὑγρόν δ' ἐν γαίῃ κρύψεν νέκυν.

Here, it will be observed, two distinct rites are mentioned. Jason cuts from the corpse the first sacrificial pieces (ἐξάργματα), and he thrice takes into his mouth and thrice spits out some of the blood.<sup>1</sup> All this is said by the author to have been an ordinary ceremony for expiation of murders done by stealth. The word *μασχαλίζειν* is not used by Apollonius, nor does he say that Jason put the ἐξάργματα under the arm-pits of Apsyrtus, but that such was the fact is asserted by the scholiast, and the passage in the Argonautica is quoted in the Et. Magn. l. c. as well as by Schol. Soph. El. β. Müller identifies the act of Jason with the *μασχαλίζειν*, and the identity seems to be conceded on all sides. Apollonius, therefore, is the oldest authority for the opinion that the *μασχαλίζειν* was a rite of sacrifice and purification.

The scholiast on this passage has the following note (p. 502, 13 Keil): ἐξάργματα] τῶν ἀποθανόντων οἱ δολοφονοῦντες ἀρχαίως ἀκρωτηριάσματά τινα ἐποιοῦν τοῦ ἀναιρουμένου καὶ ταῦτα λαβόντες ἐξήρτων τοῦ τραχήλου αὐτῶν. τῶν δὲ καλουμένων ἀκρωτηριασμάτων ἅπειρα καὶ πολλὰ ἐξάργματα. ἔπειτα τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Spitting is an obvious and almost instinctive rite of purification. Compare the phrase *πτύειν εἰς κόλπον* and the references in Becker, Charikl. sc. 8, n. 3 (2d ed., I 240); Persius ii 32. A writer in Notes and Queries, 6th ser., VI 178, treats of spitting to avoid ill-luck, witchcraft, etc., and cites Theocritus. "According to the superstition of the West Countries, if you meet the devil, . . . you may cause him to disappear by spitting over his horns," says Coleridge in a n. to his poem "Recantation" (in Sibylline Leaves). Cf. Ralston, Russian Folk-Tales, p. 142. "Wenn man sich vor Hexen schützen will, so muss man dreimal vor ihnen ausspeien." Veckenstedt, Mythen, Sagen u. Legenden der Zamaiten (Litauer), 1883, II 103. Cf. Aesch. Fr. 376 Dind. (344 Nauck) [Plut. Mor. 358 E], quoted by Gaisford in his n. on Et. Magnum, p. 118, 22: ἀποπτύσαι δεῖ καὶ καθήρασθαι στόμα. The significance is plain in all these instances. "In Spain it is considered necessary to spit after pronouncing the word 'Jew.'" M. D. Conway, Wandering Jew, p. 90. Cf. Dennys, Folk-Lore of China, p. 52.

αἵματος αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τρίς εἰς τὸ στόμα ἀπέπτυνον. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποιοῦν πρὸς τὸ ἐξιλάσασθαι τὴν δολοφονίαν.

A glance at this scholium is enough to show that its author, like so many other editors and glossographs, ancient and modern, made up a good part of his note directly from his text. The last three lines, which alone bear on the present argument, are taken almost word for word from Apollonius, with a mere change from poetical to prose diction.<sup>1</sup> The scholiast then adds nothing to the Müller theory, for, so far as he supports that theory, he is simply quoting Apollonius.

The long article in the Et. M. is another stronghold of the Müller theory; but this article, on examination, will be found to break up a good deal. The Etymologus, in his desire to make his work encyclopedic, has gathered everything he could find in notes and glossaries. Parallel columns will show what he has been about.

Et. M. s. v. ἀπάργματα, p. 118, 22.

Other Glosses.

<p>Ἀπάργματα: Λέγεται τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν λεγόμενα μασχαλίσματα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ τοῦ φονευθέντος ἀκρωτηριάσματα.</p> <p>ἦν γάρ τι νόμιμον, τοῖς δολοφονήσασιν ἀφοσιῶσαι τὸν φόνον</p>	<p>καὶ μασχαλίματα προσηγγύρευσαν. Ar. Byz.</p> <p>τομία. τὰ ἀποτμήματα, καὶ ἀκρωτηριάσματα τοῦ νεκροῦ. Hesych. ἀκρωτηριάσματά τινα ἐποιοῦν τοῦ ἀναιρουμένου. Schol. Ap. R.</p> <p>ἡ θέμις αὐθέντησι δολοκτασίας ἱλάεσθαι. Ar. R. πρὸς τὸ ἐξιλάσασθαι τὴν δολοφονίαν. Schol. Ap. R.</p>
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<sup>1</sup> By this process τρίς δ' ἀπέλειξε φόνον, τρίς δ' ἐξ ἄγος ἐπτυν' ὀδόντων becomes ἐπειτα τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ λαβόντες τρίς εἰς τὸ στόμα ἀπέπτυνον. Similarly the scholiast substitutes the prose word δολοφονία for the poetic ἀπαξ, δολοκτασία; and the good Att. prose ἐξιλάσασθαι for the Epic ἱλάεσθαι. The rest of the scholium is perhaps derived from Ar. Byz. The first three lines seem to be a studious variation of the words of that scholar. οἱ φονεῖσαντες ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς becomes οἱ δολοφονοῦντες; ἀκρωτηριάσαντες μόρια τοῦτον (var. τοῦτων) becomes (under the influence of the Apollonian ἐξάργματα τάμνε θανόντος) ἀκρωτηριάσματά τινα ἐποιοῦν τοῦ ἀναιρουμένου. The Schol. Apoll. changes the ἐκκρεμάννυμι of Ar. (ἐξεκράμνασαν τοῦ τραχήλου) to the equally good Att. ἐξαρθάω (ἐξήρτων τοῦ τρ.) The διὰ τῶν μασχαλῶν he omits, partly, perhaps, because it was not needed to elucidate his author, who does not use the word μασχαλίζω; partly, no doubt, because the phrase is rather vague and the meaning seemed clearer without it. As to his also omitting Ar.'s ἐκκλίνειν τὴν μῆνιν, he probably thought these words synonymous with ἐξιλάσασθαι τὴν δολοφονίαν; or, if he saw the essential difference between the two expressions, preferred to walk upon safe ground and follow his author.



διὰ τοῦ δολοφονηθέντος ἀκρωτηρια-	ἀκρωτηριάσαντες μόρια τούτου καὶ
σμοῦ. τὰ δὲ ἀκρωτήρια εἶροντες	ὀρμαθίσαντες
καὶ συρράπτοντες	ἐξεκρέμασαν
διὰ τῶν τοῦ νεκροῦ μασχαλῶν	τοῦ τραχήλου
καὶ τοῦ τραχήλου, περιετίθουν	διὰ τῶν μασχαλῶν
τῷ νεκρῷ, καθά φησι Σοφοκλῆς	διείραντες. Ar. Byz.
'Υφ' ἧς θανῶν ἄτιμος, κτλ.	

The Etymologus then quotes Apollonius to prove ὅτι καὶ ἐγεύοντο τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἀπέπτυνον, and also cites vaguely "Aeschylus" as authority for the same custom.

The writer of this article in the Etym., then, had before him Ap. R. and Sophocles, whom he quotes, and perhaps also Aeschylus, whom he cites. That he had by him a copy of the gloss of Ar. Byz. is proved by the parallel columns just given, which show that his account of the *μασχαλίζειν* is made up, so far as description is concerned, from that scholar's words with studious use of synonyms to avoid the appearance of copying. The parallel columns, however, show something else more important: the Etym. took his theory of the *μασχαλίζειν* directly from Ap. R. This is as clear as that the Schol. Ap. did the same. We know that both these glossographs had the place in Apollonius before their eyes. The rest of the argument states itself.

ἡ θέμις αὐθέντησι δολοκτασίας ἰλάεσθαι. Ap. R.

ἦν γάρ τι νόμιμον τοῖς δολοφονήσασιν τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίουν πρὸς τὸ ἐξιλάσασθαι τὸν φόνον. Et. Magn. σθαι τὴν δολοφονίαν. Schol.<sup>1</sup>

Thus far the authorities for the Müller theory have been seen to reduce themselves to one, Apollonius of Rhodes. There is another gloss, however (No. v), which asserts that the *μασχαλίζειν* was a rite of expiation. I give this from Suidas with all the variants of Apostolius and Vossius's MS. Suidas s. v. ἐμασχαλίσθη, I, pt. 2, p. 194, 9 Bernh. [Ap. = Apostol. Prov. xi 4, p. 516 v. Leutsch in Paroemiogr., II.<sup>2</sup> V. = MS of Isaac Voss. in Gaisf.'s n. to Et. M., p. 333, 53.]

<sup>1</sup> Whether the compiler of the Etymol. was also acquainted with the Scholium on Apollonius is a question not to our purpose and need not be here discussed.

<sup>2</sup> This is the same, word for word, as Arsen. Violetum, xxxv 14 (p. 348 Walz), for Arsenius embodied the collection of Apostolius in his own.

Ἐμασχαλίσθη<sup>1</sup>. ἔθος<sup>2</sup> ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις<sup>3</sup> ὁπότε<sup>4</sup> φονεύσειαν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τινα, τὸ ἔργον ἀφοσιουμένοις ἀκρωτηριάξιν τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ τῶν μορίων ὀρμαθὸν ποιήσαντας, κρημνῖναι<sup>5</sup> κατὰ<sup>6</sup> τοῦ τραχήλου, κατὰ τῶν μασχαλῶν διείροντας·<sup>7</sup> ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ μασχαλίσματα προσηγόρευσαν αὐτά.<sup>8</sup> Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τρωίλῳ πλήρη μασχαλισμάτων εἶρηκε τὸν μασχαλισμόν, καὶ ἐν Ἡλέκτρῳ.

On the face of it this gloss is a working over of the note of Ar. Byz. This is shown not only by the identity of language, but by the fact that the glossarist cites that passage of the *Electra* apropos of which we know that Aristophanes wrote his comment.<sup>9</sup> There is an important difference, however, in that the present gloss declares that the mutilation was for the sake of "atoning for the deed," whereas Aristophanes appears to have said it was ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῆν μῆνιν ἐκκλίνειν, which has been shown to be quite another thing. The easiest explanation is that the author of the gloss now under consideration misunderstood the words of Ar., which are vague enough, and thought he was interpreting them by a synonymous and clearer expression, whereas in fact he was inverting the sense. His mistake was easy if he did not carefully compare the note of Ar. with the text it was intended to explain. The idea that the purpose of the μασχαλίζειν was atonement, our glossographer got no doubt from the only source of that opinion that has yet been found, Apollonius of Rhodes.

These are all the passages that support the Müller theory, and these have all been shown, with more or less probability, to have drawn their information from the words of Apollonius, who thus stands as the sole ancient authority for that theory. Opposed to him is his predecessor in the librarian's chair at Alexandria, Aristophanes of Byzantium, whose name stands higher than his

<sup>1</sup> V. has: Ἐμασχαλίσθη. ἡκρωτηριάσθη. Σοφοκλῆς· ὅφ' ἧς θανὼν ἀτιμος ὥστε δυσμενῆς Ἐμασχαλίσθη. In Ap. the lemma is: Μασχαλισθήσῃ ποτέ· which is given as a proverb or saying. Where Ap. got it is a poser.

<sup>2</sup> ἔθος γὰρ ἦν, V.

<sup>3</sup> παλαιοῖς, Ap.

<sup>4</sup> ὅτε, V.

<sup>5</sup> ποιήσαντες κρεμῶν, V. Ap. also has ποιήσαντες.

<sup>6</sup> κατὰ τραχήλου κατὰ τῶν μασχαλῶν διάραντας, Ap. κατὰ τοῦ τ. καὶ τῶν μ., V.  
<sup>7</sup> om. V.

<sup>8</sup> Ap. has . . . αὐτὰ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ἡλέκτρῳ καὶ Τρωίλῳ, and there stops. V. stops with αὐτά, omitting all that follows. The text of Suid. is not at all clear. Some MSS add Ἐμασχαλίσθη after Ἡλέκτρῳ. Bernh. suggests εἶρηκε δὲ τὸν μασχαλισμόν Σ. ἐν Τρ. λέγων πλήρη μασχαλισμάτων, καὶ ἐν Ἡλ. Nauck (Ar. B. Fragg. p. 221, n. 63) says: Certe Soph. non dixit πλήρη μασχαλισμάτων. Tentabam εἶρηκε καὶ τὸ Ἐμασχαλίσθη ἐν Ἡλέκτρῳ.

<sup>9</sup> Ἀριστοφάνης [φησὶ] παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ἐν Ἡλέκτρῳ κείσθαι τὴν λέξιν ἔθος σημαίνουσιν. Photius l. c.

own on the rolls of Alexandrian scholarship, and whose notes on the tragedians were especially prized. This Aristophanes tells us that the *μασχαλίζειν* was perpetrated to avert or to shun (for *ἐκκλίνειν* will bear either sense) the dead man's wrath; and that too, not by propitiating his shade, for we have seen that the very passage on which Aristoph. is commenting shows that the mutilation made the manes furiously angry. To avert the dead man's wrath, then, must mean to avert the consequences of that wrath. This end might have been attained, perhaps, in two ways, either (1) by rendering the ghost powerless by propitiating the gods below so that they would restrain the angry shade, or (2) by rendering the ghost powerless through some direct effect which mutilation of the body would have upon the shade. The first of these suppositions can only with great difficulty be applied to the *μασχαλίζειν*. The whole tone of the Aeschylean *κομμός* is against it; for in this *κομμός* Agamemnon is represented not as restrained by the infernal divinities—nothing is said about that—but as powerless in himself. His shade is weak and miserable because he has been shamefully murdered, because his funeral has been unbecomingly conducted, and because his corpse has been insulted by mutilation. Besides, it is in contradiction to all Greek feeling to suppose that the gods below—among them the Dii Manes—could have been pleased with indignities offered to a corpse. But in no other way can we bring Aristoph. into line with Apollonius and accept the first of the two suppositions we have just made. We are compelled to believe that Aristoph. meant to record the old belief that the murderer shunned the wrath of his victim's ghost by making that ghost powerless in itself, and that this powerlessness came from the fact that the arm-pitting of the body had a direct and corresponding effect upon the soul, which was thus, so to speak, arm-pitted too. In support of this interpretation may be quoted the very clear statement of the Laurentian Scholiast on Soph. El. 445 (Oxf. ed., I 326):

εἰώθεσαν οἱ δρώντες ἐμφύλιον φόνον ἀκρωτηριάζειν τοὺς ἀναιρεθέντας, ἐκ παντὸς μέρους τοῦ σώματος ἀποταμνόμενοι, [καὶ] περιάπτειν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ ἄκρα συνείραντες διὰ τούτων, ὥσπερ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείνων ἀφαιρούμενοι, διὰ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν εἰς ὕστερον τὶ παρ' ἐκείνων δεινόν· ἐφόρου δὲ εἰς τὰς μασχάλας τὰ ἄκρα, ὃ καὶ μασχαλίσαι ἔλεγον.

These are plain words, something like what Aristophanes himself would tell us, perhaps, if we had his gloss just as he wrote it. The Schol. goes on (with an *ἄλλως*) to give another note,

which, though confused by some reminiscence of Ap. Rhod., is in general confirmatory. According to this addition, the purpose of the ceremony was, *ἵνα ἀσθενὴς γένοιτο* (sc. ὁ θανὼν) *πρὸς τὸ ἀντιτίσασθαι τὸν φονέα*.<sup>1</sup>

The upshot of our investigation so far appears to be this. Apollonius, whose words are only repeated, and therefore not confirmed, by certain glossarists and scholiasts, asserts that the *μασχαλίζειν* was a rite of purification, and he is thus the sole authority for the Müller theory. Aristophanes, as explained and perhaps confirmed by the Laurentian Scholiast, says that the result of the *μασχαλίζειν* was to weaken the shade so that it could not harm the murderer. The passages in Aesch. and Soph. fit better with the explanation of Aristophanes, to whom, other things being equal, we are bound to give as much consideration as to Apollonius. Only by inference, however, have we reached the Paley theory in its entirety, for nothing has yet shown directly that the weakness of the manes was supposed to result from a mutilation corresponding to that perpetrated on the corpse and resulting from it. To establish this proposition comparative evidence must be adduced.

It must be shown that savage tribes—whether Aryan or non-Aryan matters not, for there is no question of derivation or kinship, and the savage mind works similarly always—have or have had a custom similar to the *μασχαλίζειν* and that their belief in the matter coincides with the theory of Paley. Further, we must prove, if possible, that like beliefs and like practices, descended inferentially from primitive barbarism, have been observed among civilized peoples, who may, perhaps, have forgotten or sophisticated the original meaning of those rites. If we can do this, and if the results agree with the Paley theory, we must regard that theory as

<sup>1</sup> The confusion of the scholiast consists in saying that the mutilation was perpetrated *ἐπὶ ταῖς καθάρσεσι* and in then adding the clause here quoted. *Ἐπὶ ταῖς καθάρσεσι τοῦ φονευθέντος τὰ ἄκρα ἔτεμνον, καὶ περὶ τὴν μασχάλην αὐτοῦ ἐκρέμαζον αὐτὰ, ἵνα, φησὶν, κτλ.* The Schol. had Ap. R. in mind, for he quotes *ἐξάργματα τάμνε θανόντος*. Suid. s. v. *μασχαλισθῆναι* repeats, in a different order, the glosses of the Schol. Laur. He has *φασὶν* for *φησὶν*. It is impossible not to suspect that both notes of the Schol. Laur. come ultimately from Ar. Byz. Perhaps, too, the Et. Magn. used the Scholium in making up his article, or both he and the Schol. Laur. may have had the Aristophanic gloss in a similar form. This last supposition, however, has several arguments against it. All that we can be sure of is that we have the note of Ar. Byz. in a mutilated shape that obscures its meaning at first sight, and that some of the old scholiasts must have had it in an equally misleading form.

established, even though none of our former conclusions with regard to the scholia be accepted. For the argument from comparison, though here used to supplement an argument from tradition, is really independent of that argument. If Ar. Byz. and Ap. R. and Soph. and Aesch. should all be shown to array themselves against the Paley theory, that theory, if supported by comparison, may snap its fingers at them all, as Comparative Etymology snaps its fingers at the Cratylus. On the face of it, the Greek *μασχαλίζειν* was a relic of savage times, a "survival in culture," as Dr. Tylor would call it, and in such matters traditional interpretations are notoriously untrustworthy.

The belief that the spirits of the dead may haunt the living, doing them all manner of mischief, from mere fright to bodily injury and even violent death, is so widespread and familiar that a mere mention of it is sufficient. For Greek examples may serve the angry shade of Achilles, the maiden's ghost that haunted Pausanias,<sup>1</sup> the capital goblin story in Lucian (*Philops.* 31), and the spectre of Gello, who, dying before her time, haunted the earth, robbing mothers of their children.<sup>2</sup> Murderers are particularly liable to be haunted by their victims.<sup>3</sup>

Side by side with this superstition is another. The soul is a thin, airy, not quite immaterial, image of the body;<sup>4</sup> hence, naturally, a mutilated body will have a mutilated ghost. The ghost of a one-legged man will of course have but one leg. Go a step farther and you have the Paley theory of the *μασχαλίζειν*. A mutilated man cannot harm us; neither, therefore, can a mutilated shade. Let us guard against attacks from the ghosts of our enemies by cutting off members of their dead bodies.

Two examples will show that the reasoning of the last paragraph has been carried out by savages. Less than a century ago an English planter in Jamaica treated his slaves with such cruelty

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Cimon 6 (cf. Mqr. 555 B).

<sup>2</sup> Hesych. *Γελλῶς*, I 421 Schmidt. Suid. *Γελλοῦς παιδοφιλωτέρα*, I, i, 1079 Bernh. Zenob. Prov. iii 3, p. 58 Schneidew. (*Paroemiogr.*, I). Nicephorus Callistus, *Eccl. Hist.* xviii 9 (III, p. 347 A, Migne). Euagr. *Hist. Eccl.* v 21. Bernh. Schmidt, *Volksleben der Neugr.*, 1ter Th., pp. 139, 140.

<sup>3</sup> Clytemnestra, finding that the arm-pitting has not been effectual and that Agamemnon can still torment her with frightful dreams, sends libations to his tomb. Nero was pursued by the shade of his mother; Otho was tumbled out of bed by the ghost of Galba. Suet. Nero 34, Otho 7.

<sup>4</sup> See especially Horst, *Zauberbibliothek*, II 251 ff., 279.



that the poor wretches took to killing themselves to escape his barbarity. The planter was equal to the occasion. He ordered the corpses of the suicides to be decapitated. The negroes, since they believe that one whose body is thus mutilated will have to pass the future life forever headless, preferred to live and suffer rather than incur the wrath of a master who could punish both body and soul.<sup>1</sup> The native Australian tribes in recent times used, after a battle, to cut off the right thumbs of their slain foes, with the avowed purpose of escaping the vengeance of the ghosts; for, they said, these ghosts will become malignant demons, but if we cut off the right thumb of each corpse, each ghost will lack the right thumb and will not be able to throw at us his shadowy spear.<sup>2</sup>

Here we have almost an exact parallel to the treatment of Agamemnon's corpse. It is impossible not to suppose that the prehistoric Greek Clytemnestra reasoned in this matter like the modern Australian. If my husband's feet are cut off, his spirit cannot walk; if his hands are cut off, his spirit can wield neither sword nor spear. He may squeak and gibber forever, but from his attacks I am safe.

This superstition is not the isolated belief of a few wretched aborigines and degraded black slaves. It may be traced more or less distinctly surviving among nations of all degrees of civilization. Chinese criminals prefer crucifixion to decapitation, that their shades may have heads on their shoulders.<sup>3</sup> Hector appears to Aeneas wearing those wounds which he had received about Troy. Deiphobus in Hades bears marks of the wrath of Menelaus.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* II 451-2, cf. 76. Other instances are not wanting. A Bushman magician having killed a woman, dashed her head to pieces with large stones, and, after burying her, built a fire on her grave, lest she should rise again and "trouble him." A California Indian "did not dispute the immortality of the whites, who buried their dead, but could not believe the same of his own people because they were in the habit of burning them." Lubbock, *Mental and Social Condition of Savages*, p. 140 (Am. Ed.). The same idea lies at the bottom of a story told by Henry More, *Antidotus c. Atheismum*, iii 8, § 6; a Breslau maid in the 16th century haunted her fellow servants as a Poltergeist, but all such manifestations ceased as soon as her body was burned. This is no bad instance of a "survival in culture." Compare the phantoms that haunted the place of Caligula's burial till his body was burned. Suet. *Calig.* 59.

<sup>2</sup> Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* II 451-2, cf. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* II 452.

<sup>4</sup> *Aen.* ii 274, vi 495.

Eurydice's shade walks "passu de vulnere tardo."<sup>1</sup> The ghost of Banquo rises with twenty mortal murders on its crown. Josephus gives as an article of the orthodox Jewish creed in his day the belief that the wicked shall rise for judgment with all their wounds and diseases on them and (apparently) shall so continue forever.<sup>2</sup> "When the Earl of Cornwall saw the fetch of his friend William Rufus carried black and naked on a black goat across the Bodmin moors, he saw that it was wounded through the midst of the breast; and afterwards he heard that at that very hour the king had been slain in the New Forest by the arrow of Walter Tirell."<sup>3</sup>

Among civilized nations, however, the opinion that a spirit may be rendered powerless by mutilation of the body<sup>4</sup> appears most commonly in connection with that wildest and ghastliest of super-

<sup>1</sup> Ov. Met. x 49. Cf. Od. λ 38-43 and Autenrieth in Nägelsbach's Hom. Theol., 2d ed., p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> Οἱ δὲ ἀδικοὶ οὐκ ἀλλοιωθέντα τὰ σώματα, οὐδὲ πάθους ἢ νόσου μεταστάντα, οὐδὲ ἐνδοξασθέντα ἀπολήψονται· ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς νοσήμασιν ἐτελεύτων, καὶ ὅποιοι ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ γεγέννηται, τοιοῦτοι πιστῶς κριθήσονται. The fragment from which this is an extract is not usually included in Greek texts of Joseph., but may be found at p. 146 of the appendix to Vol. II of Havercamp's ed. (1726), with the title ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας λόγου τοῦ ἐπὶ γεγραμμένου κατὰ Πλάτωνα περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας. It is best known by Whiston's title, the "Discourse Concerning Hades." The discourse is, from internal evidence, certainly not above suspicion, though both Zonaras and Joh. Damascenus refer it to Josephus. (See Hudson's Jos., Oxf., 1720, Vol. I, Testimonia, No. xcix). The passage here quoted, though it has to do simply with the resurrection of the body, is curious as indicating a popular belief that may have lent additional force to the words of our Lord: "If thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell," etc. Mark ix 43-47. Prof. Gildersleeve kindly refers me to Plato, Gorgias 524 C, and Lucian, Tyrannus I 646 R., passages containing the spiritual doctrine of which Josephus gives a material version. Cf. also Delitzsch, Biblical Psychol., Eng. tr., p. 503, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Tylor, Prim. Cult. II 452.

<sup>4</sup> The converse of this belief occurs in a very striking way. If you wound the spectre of a living witch who, though absent, is tormenting a victim, the body of the witch gets the wound. A typical example is that of Jane Brooks, condemned and executed for witchcraft at the "Charde Assizes," 1658. A boy whom she had "bewitched" cried out in a fit that he saw Jane Brooks on the wall. Immediately one Gibson struck at the place with a knife, upon which the boy cried out, "O, father, coz Gibson hath cut Jane Brooks's hand, and 'tis bloody." Jane was immediately visited at her house, and her hand was found to be "bloody according to what the boy had said." Glanvil, Sadducismus Triumphatus, 4th ed., 1726, pp. 286-7.

stitutions—the belief in vampires. Vampirism is a long and interesting subject, and has been much misapprehended,<sup>1</sup> even by Dr. Tylor. But only a small part of the whole subject concerns us—so much only as shall serve to link the cutting off of Agamemnon's fingers and toes with the stake driven through the corpse of a suicide in modern times. In its common form<sup>2</sup> the vampire is a human corpse which, re-animated by its own soul or by a demon, rises nightly from the grave to suck the blood of surviving kinsmen and friends. If the body be dug up, it will be found fresh and ruddy, its lips sometimes besmeared with blood. The remedy against the attacks of the vampire is to exhume him and in some way disable his body. Sometimes a stake through the heart suffices to keep him quiet. Sometimes it is required that the stake be of ash or of aspen.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the corpse must be burned to ashes.<sup>4</sup> In Normandy it was thought necessary for the corpse to be dug up by the priest and the sexton. Then the head was to be stricken off with a grave-digger's shovel and thrown into the nearest stream, when, so heavy was it, it would sink not only to the bottom, but down through the earth straight to the centre, to hell.<sup>5</sup> In one case, near Danzig, the head was cut off and laid under the arm.<sup>6</sup> In Wallachia a long nail is sometimes driven through the skull.<sup>7</sup> In Servia, after a great panic, a graveyard was dug over and eleven corpses of supposed vampires were found. Every possible means of defence was resorted to in this case. The hearts of the corpses were pierced, their heads cut off, and all eleven bodies burned. The ashes were then thrown into a river.<sup>8</sup>

Evidently if the superstition were consistent, all this would have nothing to do with our subject; for the vampire is a body, and we are concerned with ghosts. But the superstition is not consistent.

<sup>1</sup> What Cox says about vampires and werewolves in his *Mythology* is very wide of the mark.

<sup>2</sup> We have here nothing to do with various Indian and Persian demons who have been sometimes identified with the vampire.

<sup>3</sup> Ralston, *Russ. Folk-Tales*, p. 322.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 316.

<sup>5</sup> Hertz, *Der Werwolf*, p. 110. Cf. Temme, *Volkssagen von Pommern u. Rügen*, pp. 307-8.

<sup>6</sup> Mannhardt, *Ztschr. f. deutsche Myth.* IV 262. Sometimes the head and feet are cut off, the feet placed where the head should be and the head where the feet belong. Veckenstedt, *Mythen der Zamaiten*, I 260.

<sup>7</sup> A. and A. Schott, *Walachische Mährchen*, p. 298.

<sup>8</sup> Calmet, *Traité sur les Apparitions*, 1751, II 45; Horst, *Zauberbibliothek*, I 257 ff.

There are instances in which the vampire is not corporeal, but spiritual, and in these instances the means which in the case of bodily vampires are used to keep down the corpse are used to lay the ghost. This gives us distinct evidence of the "survival in culture" we are trying to make out. Such seem to be the cases in which the vampire is degraded to an ordinary Poltergeist. Duke Abel of Schleswig had procured the murder of his brother. Soon after he himself died and was buried in a cathedral. From that time the ecclesiastics were disturbed during service by a frightful din and horrible apparitions till the corpse of Abel was dug up, and, after being pierced with a stake, was sunk in a swamp in the Pölerwald.<sup>1</sup> The modern Greeks, devout believers in the vampire, often confound him with the ordinary spectre that enters houses and tosses about the furniture.<sup>2</sup> The aborigines of Lower California told the Jesuit Baegert in the last century that "they had formerly broken the spine of the deceased before burying them, and had thrown them into the ditch rolled up like a ball, believing that they would rise again if not treated in this manner."<sup>3</sup> An officer who served in Hungary in 17— says that two cavalymen of his company died of a wasting disease commonly thought in that country to result from the attacks of a vampire. "Of those assailed by this malady," he writes, "the majority think they see a white spectre following them always, as the shadow follows the body." The grave of the vampire was found, his head was chopped off, and the company rested in peace.<sup>4</sup> In most of these cases the vampire is evidently not a body, but a phantom. Lenormant (*La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, p. 188) gives what seems an excellent example of the practice of coercing the shade by disabling the body. "Selon les Tchérémisses, les âmes des morts viennent inquiéter les vivants, et, pour les en empêcher, ils percent la plante des pieds et le cœur des morts, convaincus que, cloués ainsi dans leur tombe, ils n'en pourront sortir."<sup>5</sup> In the present

<sup>1</sup> Mannhardt, p. 276. Another shadowy vampire appears in Müller's *Siebenbürgische Sagen*, p. 37, but there is no mention of staking his body.

<sup>2</sup> B. Schmidt, pp. 165-6. Cf. Tylor, II 193-4. The modern Greeks seem to have got their vampire from the Slavonians, though Schmidt (168 ff.) tries hard to show that at least the essential elements of the superstition existed among the ancients.

<sup>3</sup> Rep. of the Regents of the Smithsonian. Inst. for 1864, p. 387.

<sup>4</sup> Calmet, II 69-70.

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, however, the words of the Baron von Haxthausen, Lenormant's authority, are not quite clear, and may be interpreted as showing that

century a ghost is said to have been laid in Iceland by driving two steel nails into the grave.<sup>1</sup>

The most satisfactory proof of the use of staking as a means of laying a ghost is perhaps the English mode of burying suicides. Several hundred years ago the real corporeal vampire was not unknown in Britain,<sup>2</sup> and it was no doubt while belief in him was prevalent that the custom of burying suicides<sup>3</sup> with a stake through the body arose. Later the vampire superstition quite died out, and to-day most Englishmen do not know what the word means. But the custom of impaling suicides did not die out. The suicide was thought likely to rise as an ordinary ghost, not as a vampire, but the stake was as efficacious in keeping down the spirit as it had been in keeping down the body. In New England, where nobody ever believed in vampires, the stake has been used once at least in the case of a witch who died a natural death.<sup>4</sup> Here again the purpose was evidently to prevent the ghost from walking.

the spectres feared by the Turco-Tatar Cheremiss tribe and by their neighbors, the Finnish Chouwassi, are either the souls of the dead, as Lenormant takes it, or their re-animated bodies. Haxthausen, *Études sur la situation intérieure de la Russie*, 1847, I 418-19, 430.

<sup>1</sup>Árnason, *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur*, I 263.

<sup>2</sup>Calmet, II 85, cites Guil. Malmsh. ii 4: nequam hominis cadaver post mortem Daemone agente discurrere. This reference I have failed to find. Calmet also quotes William of Newburgh without reference. The place is Guil. Neubrig. *Hist. Rer. Anglic.* v 22-24, II 567 ff., ed. Hearne, Oxf. 1719. William gives a good deal of information about Buckinghamshire vampires in his day (12th century). A case of vampirism in Wales in the same century is described by Walter Mapes, *de Nugis Curial.*, ii 27, p. 103 Wright. I owe the reference to Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 34. These British vampires do not seem to have been bloodsuckers.

<sup>3</sup>For suicides are especially likely to become vampires. See a good instance in Henry More, *Antidotus contra Atheismum*, iii 8. The mutilation in this case (which happened at Breslau in the 16th century) is noteworthy in connection with the *μασχαλίζειν*. The arms, legs and head were cut off.

<sup>4</sup>This was Goody Cole, of Hampton, N. H. Her death and burial, which took place not far from 1656, are described in S. G. Drake's *Annals of Witchcraft in N. E.*, p. 102. In 1660 the General Court of Mass. enacted that every "self-murderer shall be denied the privilege of being buried in the common burying place of Christians, but shall be buried in some common highway . . . and a cartload of stones laid upon his grave, as a brand of infamy, and a warning to others to beware of like damnable practices." By 4 *Geor. IV.*, c. 52, a person *felo de se* is to be buried "without any stake being driven through the body of such person, in the churchyard or other burial ground of the parish," etc. For these references I am indebted to the Hon. Chas. H. Bell



Let us sum up the results of our comparative investigation. We have shown that by more than one people the mutilation of the body has been held to work a corresponding mutilation on the shade or ghost; that among savages this belief has led to the custom of mutilating the corpse of an enemy in order that his shade may be unable to harm the slayer. We have also shown that this belief, though rarely to be found in its entirety among civilized men, appears once to have had wide acceptance, and to have left its imprint on enlightened nations in certain features of the vampire superstition and certain customs of impalement before burial. In the light of these facts we can hardly deny that Clytemnestra arm-pitted the murdered Agamemnon, not to cleanse herself from the guilt of his death, but to mangle and weaken the shade of the dead hero. As she struck the living man to be rid of her husband, she struck the dead man to be rid of her husband's ghost.

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and to Mr. C. A. Snow. The last suicide buried at cross-roads in England was Griffiths in 1823. No stake was driven through his body, nor was any lime thrown over it. N. and Q., 1st ser., VII 617. For the cairn, cf. Gregor, Folk-Lore of the North of Scot., p. 214, and in particular Liebrecht, Zur Volkskunde, pp. 274, 275. Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, 1828, p. 727, cites a law by which a man who had drowned himself in a well was to be buried with a stone on his head, another on his body, a third on his feet. Michelet, Origines du Droit français, 1837, p. 371, quotes Grimm, adding, very pertinently: "On craignait évidemment que le mort ne revînt et n'errât." Cf. Liebrecht *l. c.*

### III.—PHARSALIA, PHARSALUS, PALAEPHARSALUS.

The site of the battle-field where Caesar finally defeated Pompey, on the ninth of August, 48 B. C., was held by Leake, Northern Greece, IV, p. 476 ff., to be between Pharsalus (modern Fersala) and the river Enipeus. This river he identified with the modern Tşanarlı, although he gives it the modern name Fersalitis. He located the camp of Pompey on the heights east of Fersala, that of Caesar at the foot of the rocky height which advances into the plain three miles westward of Fersala. His locations and general plan of the battle were followed by Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, III, p. 503 ff., and by Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, II, p. 227 ff. Merivale pointed out some difficulties in the way of Leake's views, which were commented on by the latter in a paper cited and summarized by the writer of the article "Pharsalus" in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*. The essay itself I have been unable to consult. Leake's views, however, remained unchanged.

An entirely different location of the battle-field was made by Göler, *Caesars Gallischer Krieg und Theile seines Bürgerkriegs*<sup>2</sup>, II, p. 150 ff., namely, on the further side from Pharsalus of the river called Enipeus by Leake. This river Göler calls Apidanus, and a very small tributary stream between Pharsalus and his Apidanus, entirely east of the road leading north from Pharsalus to Larissa, he calls Enipeus. A similar tributary appears without name on Leake's map, but it is made to rise a little to the west of Pharsalus, and to lie entirely west of the road to Larissa. Göler's plan of the battle-field is based on an Austrian military map, which is inaccessible to me, but must vary materially from the later maps of Kiepert. These are certainly more trustworthy. Caesar's camp is placed by Göler on the right bank of his Apidanus, just where the road from Larissa crosses the river; Pompey's camp is placed directly across the river valley, on the heights called Cynoscephalae. The main features of Göler's plan, but not his nomenclature, nor his minor departures from standard cartography, are adopted and ably defended by Long, *Decline of the Roman Republic*, V, p. 213 ff.

Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, Am. ed.,<sup>1</sup> IV, p. 495 ff., follows Göler so far as to locate the camp of Pompey on the further side from Pharsalus of the Enipeus. This river Pompey's whole army crosses to give battle to Caesar. In all else Mommsen follows Leake. This combination is so peculiar that I quote in full all those parts of Mommsen's description of the battle which involve it, or which are referred to in the following arguments. In the text we read: "Caesar lay to the south of Larissa in the plain—which extends between the hill-country of Cynoscephalae and the chain of Othrys and is intersected by a tributary of the Peneius, the Enipeus—on the left bank of the latter stream near the town of Pharsalus; Pompeius pitched his camp opposite to him on the right bank of the Enipeus along the slope of the heights of Cynoscephalae." "When Pompeius hesitated as to his crossing of the rivulet which separated the two armies, and which Caesar with his much weaker army did not venture to pass, this excited great indignation." "Pompeius yielded; and Caesar, who, under the impression that matters would not come to a battle, had just projected a mode of turning the enemy's army, and for that purpose was on the point of setting out towards Scotussa, likewise arrayed his legions for battle, when he saw the Pompeians preparing to offer it to him on his bank." "Pompeius rested his right wing on the Enipeus; Caesar opposite to him rested his left on the broken ground stretching in front of the Enipeus; the two other wings were stationed out in the plain, covered in each case by the cavalry and the light troops." Pompey's cavalry, attacked by Caesar's *quarta acies*, "galloped at full speed from the field of battle." "When Pompeius, who from the outset did not trust his infantry, saw the horsemen gallop off, he rode back at once from the field of battle to the camp, without even awaiting the issue of the general attack ordered by Caesar. His legions began to waver and soon to retire over the brook into the camp, which was not accomplished without severe loss." When Pompey "saw the legions retire over the stream he . . . rode off by the nearest route to the sea." In a footnote to the first sentence quoted from the main text Mommsen says: "The exact determination of the field of battle is difficult. Appian (II 75) expressly places it between (New) Pharsalus (now Fersala) and the Enipeus. Of the two

<sup>1</sup> This translation was compared with the fourth German edition. Citations from the sixth show that the author has made no changes in the portions which come under discussion here.

streams, which alone are of any importance in the question, and are undoubtedly the Apidanus and Enipeus of the ancients—the Sofadhitiko and the Fersaliti—the former has its sources in the mountains of Thaumaci (Dhomoko) and the Dolopian heights, the latter in Mount Othrys, and the Fersaliti alone flows past Pharsalus; now as the Enipeus, according to Strabo (IX, p. 432), springs from Mount Othrys and flows past Pharsalus, the Fersaliti has been most justly pronounced by Leake (Northern Greece, IV 320) to be the Enipeus, and the hypothesis followed by Göler that the Fersaliti is the Apidanus is untenable. With this all the other statements of the ancients as to the two rivers agree. Only we must doubtless assume with Leake, that the river Vlokhò, formed by the union of the Fersaliti and the Sofadhitiko and going to the Peneius, was called by the ancients Apidanus as well as the Sofadhitiko; which, however, is the more natural, as while the Sofadhitiko probably has, the Fersaliti has not, constantly water (Leake, IV 321). Old Pharsalus, from which the battle takes its name, must therefore have been situated between Fersala and the Fersaliti. Accordingly the battle was fought on the left bank of the Fersaliti, and in such a way that the Pompeians, standing with their faces towards Pharsalus, leaned their right wing on the river (Caesar, B. C. III 83; Frontinus, Strat. II 3, 22). The camp of the Pompeians, however, cannot have stood here, but only on the slope of the heights of Cynoscephalae, on the right bank of the Enipeus, partly because they barred the route of Caesar to Scotussa, partly because their line of retreat evidently went over the mountains above the camp towards Larissa; if they had, according to Leake's hypothesis (IV 482), encamped to the east of Pharsalus on the left bank of the Enipeus, they could never have got to the northward through this stream, which at this very point has a deeply cut bed (Leake, IV 469), and Pompeius must have fled to Lamia instead of Larissa. Probably, therefore, the Pompeians pitched their camp on the right bank of the Fersaliti, and passed the river both in order to fight and in order, after the battle, to regain their camp, whence they then moved up the slopes of Crannon and Scotussa, which culminate above the latter place in the heights of Cynoscephalae. This was not impossible. The Enipeus is a small slow-flowing rivulet, which Leake found two feet deep in November, and which in the hot season often lies quite dry (Leake; I 448, and IV 472; cf. Luc. VI 373), and the battle was fought in the height of summer. Further, the armies before the battle lay three miles and a half

from each other (Appian, B. C. II 65), so that the Pompeians could make all preparations and also properly secure the communication with their camp by bridges. Had the battle terminated in a complete rout, no doubt the retreat to and over the river could not have been executed, and doubtless for this reason Pompeius only reluctantly agreed to fight here. The left wing of the Pompeians, which was the most remote from the base of retreat, felt this; but the retreat at least of their centre and their right wing was not accomplished in such haste as to be impracticable under the given conditions. Caesar and his copyists are silent as to the crossing of the river, because this would place in too clear a light the eagerness for battle of the Pompeians, apparent otherwise from the whole narrative, and they are also silent as to the conditions of retreat favorable for these."

To this apparent combination of the views of Leake and Göler by Mommsen, Göler objected, on the ground principally that the same reasons which forbade locating Pompey's camp on the left bank of the Apidanus (Enipeus) forbade also making Pompey's army cross the river to give battle, and recross it in flight.

In all these authorities the names of the modern rivers corresponding to those anciently called Apidanus and Enipeus differ from those of the newest maps of Thessaly, and any one who compares the successive editions of Kiepert's classical maps of Greece, large and small, will find surprising vacillation in the nexus and nomenclature of all the streams draining the great watershed of Thessalotis. But since the cession of Thessaly to the kingdom of Greece in 1881 made scientific surveys necessary, and rendered travel and investigation in this district safe and inviting, many topographical questions hitherto doubtful have been finally settled, and much light has been shed on the conflicting statements of ancient writers regarding the main geographical features of Thessaly. It seems worth while, therefore, to review the question of the river system of the Pharsalian plains, and the site of Caesar's greatest battle with Pompey, in the light of the latest maps.<sup>1</sup> Such a review seems called for also from such facts as these, that Bäderer's most welcome handbook for travellers in Greece presents routes in Thessaly on the basis of Kiepert's latest map, but, apropos of Fersala, quotes Mommsen's account of the

<sup>1</sup> H. Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*, No. 5 and 6, edition of 1882; *Karte des Königreichs Hellas*, accompanying Bäderer's *Griechenland*.



battle of Pharsalus; and that the last editor of Appian refers to this as the standard account. This account, however, was written before the geography of the Pharsalian plain had become definitely fixed, and would doubtless be materially changed should the eminent historian revise again the volume in which it is contained. It will not therefore be thought presumptuous in me to present some criticisms of this account.<sup>1</sup> The "historical artisan" may sometimes properly criticize details in the work of the "historical artist."

Of the five main rivers of Thessaly mentioned in Hdt. VII 129, four, the Pamisus, the Onochonus, the Apidanus, and the Enipeus, are now described by Kiepert as flowing into the fifth, the Peneius, from the south, and as draining Thessalotis in the order mentioned from west to east. Of these, two, the Apidanus and Enipeus, passed through the Pharsalian plains, but just how has been until recently quite uncertain, and very differently represented on different maps. In VII 196, Herodotus says that the Onochonus was the only river of Thessaly which could not supply the army of Xerxes with water, as if this were the smallest of the tributaries of the Peneius.<sup>2</sup> But he adds that of the rivers of Achaia, even the largest, the Apidanus, fared almost as badly as the Onochonus. The Apidanus therefore, according to Herodotus, was a large river in both Thessaly (Thessalotis) and Achaia (Phthiotis). No river corresponds to this description except that called the Enipeus by Kiepert, rising in the Othrys range of Achaia, taking a north-easterly and northerly course through Achaia, then a north-westerly along the north-eastern side of Thessalotis. Without attempting to notice the explanations of this last statement of Herodotus which have been made, it is enough for my present purpose to say that it is now clear that he confounded the Apidanus with the Enipeus.

With regard to these two rivers Thukydides, IV 78, is perfectly accurate. When Brasidas, after the battle of Delium, attempted

<sup>1</sup> Most of this paper was already in manuscript when I received Seldner's *Schlachtfeld von Pharsalus*, a Mannheim school-program of 1882-3. Many of my objections to Mommsen's account of the battle I find anticipated here, but the program was written before Kiepert's last maps of Thessaly were published, and the method of the enquiry will be seen to be quite different from mine.

<sup>2</sup> The schol. on Apoll. Rh. III 1085, in quoting Hdt. VII 129, omits the Onochonus entirely.

to conduct an armed force through Thessaly into Macedonia, the popular sentiment of Thessaly was against him, and an opposing force stopped him at the Enipeus, in Achaia (Phthiotis), just above Melitia. At this point, therefore, the crossing of the Enipeus was strategically important. Having so far satisfied his opponents of his intentions that they dispersed, Brasidas, following the advice of his oligarchical friends and guides, stole his way through the country by forced marches into Perrhaebia, avoiding, of course, the large cities, and the main route by way of Larissa. Even on the day of the parley ἡ ἐκ τῆς Μελιτίας ἀφώρμησεν, εἰς Φάρσαλόν τε ἐτέλεσε καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀπιδανῷ ποταμῷ. This river then, as Classen's note *ad loc.* correctly states, flowed at some distance to the north of Pharsalus, and the inference is a very probable one that it had not lain in the path of Brasidas since his crossing of the Enipeus in Achaia (Phthiotis).<sup>1</sup> The great river of Achaia Phthiotis as well as of Thessaliotis was therefore the Enipeus, and the Apidanus must have risen in the extreme southern slopes bounding the Pharsalian plain, near Pharsalus itself. So Kiepert now represents it. The Apidanus and Enipeus did not join, therefore, east or south-east of Pharsalus, as has been represented even by Kiepert in his earlier maps. But though the Enipeus was by far the longer of the two rivers, its course before entering the great valley of Thessaliotis was through a mountainous country, and the Apidanus may well have been of equal or even greater volume at times, being fed by copious springs at the head of the valley about Pharsalus, and flowing through an almost marshy plain. After the junction of the two rivers, well towards the northern part of Thessaliotis and the Peneius (cf. Apoll. Rh. I 37 ff.), the united streams may have been variously called Apidanus or Enipeus, and the first name even erroneously extended to the Enipeus above the junction. It is otherwise hard to account for the confounding of the rivers in Herodotus, and for Strabo's statement, IX, p. 432, that the Enipeus flows from Othrys past Pharsalus, empties into the Apidanus, and this into the Peneius (ὁ δ' Ἐνιπεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀθρυος παρὰ Φάρσαλον ῥεῖ εἰς τὸν Ἀπιδανὸν παραβάλλει, ὁ δ' εἰς τὸν Πηνειόν). But a gloss (so Meineke) at Strabo VIII, p. 356, speaks of the Thessalian Enipeus as flowing from Othrys

<sup>1</sup> The route least likely to meet with further opposition would seem to have been through Thessaliotis on the west side of the Enipeus, and perhaps the uncertain Phakion, where Brasidas encamped after leaving the Apidanus, is to be located somewhere on this line, rather than in Pelasgiotis.

and *receiving* the Apidanus after it has come down from Pharsalus (τὸν δ' ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλίᾳ Ἑλιπεία γράφουσιν, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀθρυος ῥέων δέχεται τὸν Ἀπιδανὸν κατενεχθέντα ἐκ Φαρσάλου). Whether this description is Strabo's or not, it is certainly good evidence that the two streams at their junction were so nearly of a size as to make it doubtful which name the united streams should bear.<sup>1</sup> And however Strabo estimated the relative size of the rivers, he speaks of the Enipeus (VIII, p. 432) as near Melitaea, just as Thukydides does, and must therefore regard it as the longer of the two.

In λ 239 the Enipeus is called the most beautiful river in the world. It certainly was the most prominent tributary of the Peneius so far as length of course is considered, if, as the best line of evidence in ancient writers shows, and as Kiepert now decides, it was the eastern stream of Thessalotis and Pharsalia, with the Apidanus next west. Moreover, at a point in Pharsalia between Pharsalus and Larissa, the Enipeus must have been the larger stream, while the Apidanus must have just begun its course, increasing so as to be of equal or even greater size where the two united. In any of the current locations of the battle-field, therefore, the Enipeus will be the main river of the scene, whatever its special strategical importance may have been. So Lucan thinks of it when he prophesies (Phars. VII 116): Sanguine Romano quam turbidus ibit Enipeus, and, possibly with no more definite geographical purpose (v. 224), At iuxta fluvios, et stagna undantis Enipei, | Cappadocum montana cohors, etc. The modern stream corresponding to the ancient Enipeus is now seen to be not the Fersalitis, but the Tšanarli. The modern Fersalitis is the ancient Apidanus. In all discussions of the site of the great battle between Caesar and Pompey the writer's standpoint regarding these streams of Pharsalia must first be made definite and clear. How perplexing the confusion of the two rivers is may be seen from reading the chapter on the battle-field in Long or Willmann (Adnotationes quaedam ad C. Julii Caesaris relationem pugnae Pharsalicae. Halberstadii, 1875).

<sup>1</sup> When Euripides calls the Apidanus a river of Phthia (Hec. 451, Iph. A. 713), we may suppose that he adopts the geography of the heroic age, when Phthia included much if not all of Thessalotis. Still Euripides gives much the same praise to the Apidanus that Homer does to the Enipeus, and it is quite possible that he interchanged the names, like Herodotus. The nomenclature of Herodotus probably lies at the basis of Apoll. Rh. II 514 f. Different descriptions of these same rivers in Ovid (Met. I 579 f.) and Lucan (Phars. VI 372 f.) are undoubtedly due to an interchange of names.

Pharsalus, the city which dominated the fertile territory so amply watered by these rivers, appears in Greek history under this name as early as 454 B. C. (Thuk. I 111). It is even then a strong citadel and a representative Thessalian city, badly governed by a large landed class whose fighting force was cavalry. It continued such down to the time when Thessaly came under Roman control in 196 B. C. (Polyb. XVIII, 46 ff.). Of Leake's view that it was the Phthia of Peleus and Achilles, the capital city of Phthiotis in the Homeric age, there is no need to speak here, except as it emphasizes the importance of the place. That the city itself laid claim at least to Homeric antiquity may be reasonably inferred from the fact that it erected statues of Achilles and Patroclus at Delphi (Paus. X 13, 5). It is often mentioned by Thukydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus, Livy, and Plutarch. It was the only city of Thessaly which the Romans allowed to retain its freedom (Mommsen, Röm. Gesch. V, p. 273).

But neither of this famous city nor of the famous river which flowed through its territory does Caesar make any mention whatever in his account of the battle. This is certainly remarkable if the battle was fought on a bank of the river or near the city. Their names could not be more significantly ignored if the struggle occurred miles away from them. Moreover, in speaking of the battle afterwards he gives it no specific name. Twice he calls it *proelium in Thessalia factum* (B. C. III 101, 5; 111, 3), the most indefinite expression possible for him to use. Cicero uses the same expression for the locality of the battle thrice (Phil. II 59; 75; de Divin. II 114). Thessalia may possibly denote here the district Thessaliotis, and so be somewhat narrowed down in content, but this is not Caesar's customary use of the word. The scene of battle is, however, very much narrowed down by the use of the adjective Pharsalian. Cicero speaks twice of the *pugna Pharsalia*, twice of the *fuga Pharsalia*, twice of the *proelium Pharsalicum*, twice of the *acies Pharsalica*. This last expression he uses in Caesar's presence (pro Ligario 9), and in addressing Antonius (Phil. II 71), who commanded the left wing for Caesar in the battle. Designations of the battle which consign it to the region about Pharsalus occur also in the historians so commonly as not to need citing.

But a still more precise designation of the battle is found in Bell. Alex. 48, 1 (probably by Aulus Hirtius, the friend and officer of Caesar, though not himself present at the battle): *Iis autem*



temporibus, quibus Caesar ad Dyrrhachium Pompeium obsidebat et Palaepharsali rem feliciter gerebat Alexandriaeque cum periculo magno, tum etiam maiore periculi fama dimicabat, etc. Here are chosen and exact expressions of locality, "near Dyrrhachium, at Palaepharsalus, at Alexandria." This narrower designation of the site of the battle is found also in Strabo (XVII, p. 796: *ἐν τούτῳ Πομπήιος Μάγνος ἦκε φεύγων ἐκ Παλαιφαρσάλου πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον καὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος*), Frontinus (Strateg. II 3, 22: *Cn. Pompeius adversus C. Caesarem, Palaepharsali triplicem instruxit aciem*), and Orosius (VI 15: *Hic exitus pugnae ad Palaeopharsalum fuit*), the last two ultimately, if not directly, dependent on Livy. The origination and late survival of this exact designation among the far more numerous and easy general designations, tend to establish its correctness. If, then, the site of Palaepharsalus can be satisfactorily fixed, the site of the battle-field follows; and if the site of the battle-field can be fixed, the site of Palaepharsalus follows. Neither can be done with absolute certainty; but the evidence in both lines of enquiry points with strong probability to the same general locality.

Col. Leake's opinion that Palaepharsalus was the ancient citadel just back of the modern Fersala, or that it was within very short distance of Pharsalus toward the Enipeus, must fall before the precision with which Strabo distinguishes the two places and uses each as limit of measure. Indeed, that the city and citadel of Pharsalus were distinct in ancient times as well as modern, as was the case elsewhere, may fairly be inferred from Xen. Hell. VI 1, 2, 18, where the acropolis is said to have been reserved by Polydamas, but the city joins Jason of Pherae. In discussing the question whether the Homeric Hellas and Phthia were one (IX, p. 431), Strabo mentions as one opinion current that Hellas was not a city but a district, extending [*eis*] *τὰς Θήβας τὰς Φθιώτιδας ἀπὸ Παλαιφαρσάλου (ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ Θετιδεῖον ἔστι πλησίον τῶν Φαρσάλων ἀμφοῖν τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ τῆς νέας, κέκ τοῦ Θετιδείου τεκμαιρόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ μέρος εἶναι καὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν)*, κτλ. The phrase *πλησίον . . νέας* has no particular force, and can with difficulty be accounted for if the two Pharsali were close to each other, or if either was very much nearer than the other to the Thetidium, or on the same line with it as the other. It is most naturally accounted for if Palaepharsalus and Pharsalus were approximately equidistant from the Thetidium. In that case, as Pharsalus lay at the extreme southern edge of the Pharsalian plains, Palaepharsalus would naturally be looked for



toward the north or north-east. Strabo's language favors rather than forbids placing Palaepharsalus on the right of the Enipeus, inasmuch as the river valley would be a more natural boundary than a city within it. No indication is here given of the site of the Thetidium, further than that it was in the region between Palaepharsalus and Phthiotic Thebes.

The approximate site of the Thetidium, however, we get from Polybius, XVIII 20 (cf. Eurip. *Androm.* 16 ff.). From the vicinity of Pherae Philip and Flamininus march by circuitous north and south routes to the westward, each trying to reach Scotussa first. Titus encamped the first night at Eretria in Phthia, Philip at the Onchestus. On the second night Philip encamped ἐπὶ τὸ Μελάμβιον προσαγορευόμενον τῆς Σκοτυσσαίας, and Titus περὶ τὸ Θετίδειον τῆς Φαρσαλίας. The Thetidium was therefore in the territory of Pharsalia, which could not have extended far beyond the valley of the Enipeus, on the right of the Enipeus, on a line running south of Scotussa from Pherae westward, and on a military route between Eretria and Scotussa. These details enable us to locate it NE. of Pharsalus, nearly if not exactly where Col. Leake identified it with ruins then visible, and probably a little east of where Kiepert now locates Palaepharsalus. This latter, to accord best with our inference from Strabo that it was practically equidistant with Pharsalus from the Thetidium, and was held by some to be the western limit of Hellas, we must locate further to the NW., and even across the main route between Larissa and Pharsalus.

To the same location we are led by general military considerations based upon the previous progress of the campaign between Caesar and Pompey, and by a proper interpretation of the language of Caesar. This ground has been thoroughly worked by Göler and Long. I can add but little to their arguments. After Caesar's great defeat at Dyrrhachium he retired into Thessaly, for the purpose of restoring the confidence of his men and securing ample supplies (B. C. III 74, 3). On the way he made a lucky junction with his officer, Domitius Calvinus, near Aeginium, the last town of Epirus in the upper valley of the Peneius (c. 79). He had previously (c. 34) sent fifteen cohorts and over two hundred cavalry into Thessaly and Aetolia, and subsequently ordered them further south into Achaia. They had been kept back, however, by an officer of Pompey at the Isthmus of Corinth, and were now engaged in winning Boeotia over to Caesar (c. 55). Pompey was known to be on his way through Macedonia to join Scipio at

Larissa in Thessaly (cc. 79, 80, 82). Accordingly, in view of the great numerical inferiority of Caesar's forces, the first requirement of good generalship on his part would be to take up such a position in Thessaly, south of Larissa, as would put him in communication with his forces in Boeotia (cf. *Plut. Caes.* 43), prevent Pompey from reaching and crushing them, and at the same time command a large and fertile share of the Thessalian plains. Just such a place would be the road from Larissa to Pharsalus, where it leaves the low range of hills dividing Pelasgiotis from Thessaliotis, and enters the plain of the Enipeus and the territory of Pharsalus.

What indications Caesar gives of his route through Thessaly point to this locality. He sacks Gomphi for closing its gates upon him, and spares Metropolis because it receives him. Thereupon, *nulla Thessaliae fuit civitas praeter Larisaeos, qui magnis exercitibus Scipionis tenebantur, quin Caesari parerent atque imperata facerent* (c. 81). This certainly includes Pharsalus, and made it unnecessary for Caesar to visit it, as well as quite improbable that the battle should subsequently be fought under its walls without any notice being taken by Caesar of the city and its attitude. Caesar's description of his course after leaving Metropolis is vague, mainly because it took him to no city, and to no place easily designated by its special nearness to any city. *Ille idoneum locum in agris nactus . . . ibi adventum expectare Pompei eoque omnem belli rationem conferre constituit* (c. 81, 3). This place must have been "suitable" not only for controlling a large area of the ripening harvest, but also for awaiting Pompey's advance southwards. It could not therefore, as all military critics say at once, have been at a point which would have left the great road south from Pharsalus open to Pompey, and Caesar had time to make deliberate choice. It was not near enough to either the Enipeus or Pharsalus to bring them into special mention.

Pompey did not effect a junction with Scipio until some days after Caesar had established himself in this position (c. 82, 1). Caesar says nothing of the advance of these united forces from Larissa, nor does he locate clearly the camp they occupied just before the battle. He gives, however, some significant hints in his brief description of the battle, all of which point to the southern slope of the range of hills dividing Pelasgiotis and Thessaliotis,

<sup>1</sup> I regard it as now beyond controversy that this pronoun refers to Caesar and not to Scipio. See Willmann, *l. c.* p. 3 f.

near the great north and south route running from Larissa to Pharsalus. The camp of Pompey must have been determined by that of Caesar, and over against it, since Caesar was now on the defensive, and Pompey at last on the aggressive, driven on by the impatience of the senatorial party and their overestimate of the victory at Dyrrhachium. But, after encamping over against Caesar, Pompey's old caution returned, and he kept deferring his attack until Caesar determined even to challenge him (c. 84, 1). Itaque ex castris exercitum eduxit aciemque instruxit, primo suis locis pauloque a castris Pompei longius, continentibus vero diebus, ut progrediretur a castris suis collibusque Pompeianis aciem subiceret (c. 84, 2). From this it may be inferred that considerable distance intervened between the camps, and that Caesar's was on low ground compared with Pompey's, especially as Caesar so particularizes this contrast by speaking of his own as *in agris* (c. 81, 3), and by saying (c. 85, 1): Pompeius, qui castra in colle habebat, as though this was an advantage on Pompey's side. At last, just as Caesar is about to break camp and enter on a flying campaign, in despair of bringing matters to a crisis, Pompey's forces come so far out into the plain from their high camp that a battle can be fought *non iniquo loco* (c. 85, 3). Caesar still advances further to the attack (c. 88, 1), and Pompey's line await his charge (c. 92, 2).

When Pompey's great body of cavalry had been routed by Caesar's famous *quarta acies*, they all turned, and not only abandoned the field, but without stopping, fled at the top of their speed to the highest hills (omnesque conversi non solum loco excederent, sed protinus incitati fuga montes altissimos peterent; c. 93, 6). There were, then, in the rear of Pompey's left wing high hills. That these were not at right angles to his line of battle is clear from the fact that the same charge which routed his cavalry brought Caesar's *quarta acies* upon the left of his infantry line (eodem impetu cohortes sinistrum cornu pugnantibus etiam tum ac resistentibus in acie Pompeianis circumierunt eosque a tergo sunt adorti; c. 93, 8). Moreover, that these hills were part of the range toward the base of which Pompey's camp was pitched, is probable from Caesar's description of his storming the camp (c. 95). After a feeble resistance the garrison withdrew from the defences, protinusque omnes ducibus usi centurionibus tribunisque militum in altissimos montes, qui ad castra pertinebant, confugerunt. Pompey's force was so large that either wing of the battle line

would project beyond the camp, and the horsemen, on the left wing, took the bee-line of panic-flight past even the camp.

Pompey, finding the enemy in his camp, rode out of the decuman gate, and without stopping made at full speed for Larissa (decumana porta se ex castris eiecit protinusque equo citato Larissam contendit; c. 96, 3). The most natural inference from this passage is certainly that the decuman or rear gate looked toward Larissa. With Caesar's cavalry scouring the country Pompey could not take a roundabout course. Pompey had advanced southward from Larissa until he confronted Caesar, and had then entrenched himself on the hills sloping down into the Pharsalian plains. Nothing but the most forced explanation can make the passage consist with Leake's position for Pompey's camp and line of battle, facing north on the plain just east of Pharsalus. This difficulty Merivale and Mommsen recognize fully.

The difficulty is duplicated by Caesar's statement that Pompey's soldiers, after fleeing to a position in the hills back of the camp, abandoned it on seeing Caesar preparing to blockade it, since it had no water, and started along the mountain ridges toward Larissa (relicto monte universi iugis eius Larissam versus se recipere coeperunt; c. 97, 2). It would have been a hopeless undertaking to reach Larissa from Leake's position for Pompey's camp, while Caesar held the main road. As it was, Caesar took a better route (probably the main road between Pharsalus and Larissa), and headed off the retreating crowd after a march of six miles (commodioremque itinere Pompeianis occurrere coepit, et progressus milia passuum sex aciem instruxit; c. 97, 3). This was at a hill whose base was washed by a certain river (Hunc montem flumen sublebat; c. 97, 4). The only hill which Leake could find answering to this description was near Scotussa, and washed by the Onochonus (now called the Onchestus). But Leake admits frankly that it was more than six miles *from the banks of the Enipeus*. "If we suppose Caesar to have computed his distance of six miles from the banks of the Enipeus north-eastward of Fersala, and to have encamped at some little distance short of the Onochonus, the march would not have been much greater than six miles, though it seems rather underrated at this distance." Adopting, then, Leake's identification of this hill (and nothing seems improbable in it), and Caesar's march of six miles was reckoned rather from the northern edge of the broad valley of the Enipeus, where our enquiry thus far tends to place the camp of Pompey, than from



the river itself, to say nothing of the southern side of the valley where Leake and those who follow him locate the battle-field. As Pompey's camp, or rather an eminence in the rear of it, was the starting point of the march, there is no good reason for including the plain between this and the Enipeus in Caesar's estimate of the length of the march. The new maps show no mountain nearer the valley of the Enipeus than the one which Leake fixes upon, though they suggest the identification of some one of the hills more in the direction of Larissa, washed by tributaries of the upper Onchestus, with the hill so vaguely described by Caesar. From this hill, on the following day, after receiving the surrender of the beleaguered enemy, and after bringing up relief legions from his old camp, Caesar proceeds to Larissa (c. 98, 3). This implies the very close proximity of this city to the scene of the surrender.

The argument from Caesar's Commentaries, drawn from incidental and indirect allusions to the geography of the field of battle, is cumulative in establishing the probability that the camps both of Pompey and Caesar were on the side of the Enipeus toward Larissa, and that the camp of Pompey was on the southern slope of the hills bounding the northern edge of the Pharsalian plain. Such positions are also demanded by the most general military considerations. In this neighborhood, too, Palaepharsalus, the stricter designation of the locality of the battle first found in Aulus Hirtius and surviving even to Orosius, is best located.

This name occurs in Strabo, as we have seen, without designating the site of the battle between Caesar and Pompey. Livy also uses it in careful distinction from Pharsalus. During the desultory third Macedonian war the Roman consul for a long time held a position in Thessaly from which he hoped to advance against Perseus, strongly entrenched on the confines of Macedonia. He was of course also liable to attack from Perseus. The same general military considerations as in the case of Caesar's campaign in Thessaly would lead him to occupy such a position as would command the fertile Pharsalian plains, and control the great north and south route through Thessaly. Livy says (44, 1): *castra eo tempore A. Hostilius in Thessalia circa Palaepharsalum habebat.*

Long gives (*l. c.* p. 220) from private correspondence General Sir Wm. Napier's objections to the site of the battle as designated by Leake. "It seems impossible that a great general like Caesar should allow Pompeius to pass the Enipeus before him and cut



him off from Pharsalus and Scotussa, and also from one of the roads to Thermopylae, which endangered Caesar's troops in Greece. It is also impossible that so great a general as Pompeius would pass the Enipeus in the face of Caesar's army, leaving his own place of arms, Larissa, open to his enemy; moreover, Caesar does not mention Pompey's passage of the river. He does not indeed mention his own, but there was no need of that; it was part of his march when no enemy was near him." These objections are sustained by the whole course of our enquiry thus far.

Against Mommsen's peculiar modification of Leake's view, that Pompey's camp was on the north side of the Enipeus, but that he crossed the Enipeus to attack Caesar, that his cavalry recrossed it in their fatal flight to the hills, and that his whole army recrossed it to regain their camp after their defeat, I note the following additional points which have not been already brought out explicitly in the course of the enquiry. First, no mention of such crossing and recrossing is even implied in any ancient authority for the battle, although it must have formed a very important feature of the struggle. Second, the assumption that the battle did not terminate in a complete rout is also contrary to all the evidence we have, and if this be distrusted as too partisan, to the undisputed and indisputable fact that Pompey's camp was taken by storm. Caesar says of the troops which formed Pompey's main line of battle, after the attack of the *tertia acies*, *universi terga verterunt* (c. 94, 2), *initium fugae factum* (c. 94, 4), *Pompeianis ex fuga intra vallum compulsis . . . perterritis* (c. 95, 1), *qui ex acie refugerant milites* (c. 95, 4). Third, the motive assigned for the silence of "Caesar and his copyists" about Pompey's thus crossing the river, that it would place in too clear a light his eagerness for battle, is not only insufficient if it could be shown to exist, but is absolutely precluded. Caesar dwells upon the eagerness of the Pompeians to fight him (cc. 82, 83, 86, 87) in consequence of his defeat at Dyrrhachium. He makes the military caution of Pompey himself the only restraining element. It was this which led Pompey to await attack from Caesar, instead of advancing to give it (cf. c. 85; 88, 1). Moreover, there were some in the senatorial party who dreaded the battle and feared the result, so that Pompey must have had some support in his cautious procedure, if reliance can be placed on the testimony of the vacillating Cicero (*de Divin.* II 114): *Ille [remex] vero et ea quidem [praedixit] quae omnes eo tempore ne acciderent timebamus*

. . . Videbaturque nobis exercitus Caesaris et audaciae plus habere, quippe qui patriae bellum intulisset, et roboris propter vetustatem. Casum autem proelii nemo nostrum erat quin timeret.

No historian now holds Arnold of Rugby's contempt for Caesar's Commentaries on the Civil War as an authority, least of all Mommsen. Even granting that Caesar colors his accounts of political measures in his own favor, his descriptions of purely military operations will stand every test of historical fidelity. No writer has described the defeat at Dyrrhachium in darker colors than he. No one certainly was better able to describe the battle of Palaepharsalus. What unintentional indications of the site of the battle we get from his brief description of the purely military features of the struggle are of the highest value. They all bear, I venture to think, against the views of Mommsen.

Regarding it as proven, then, that the battle of Palaepharsalus was fought on the north of the Enipeus where the camps of both armies had been pitched, and that Pompey's camp at least was on the hills sloping toward the river valley, I shall briefly notice another question, the more exact location of Caesar's camp. Göler places it at the crossing of the Enipeus by the road between Pharsalus and Larissa, which it secured, and opposite Palaepharsalus, a league distant upon the hills. He cites as a similar procedure of Caesar's, B. G. II 5. Sir William Napier, quoted by Long (*l. c.* p. 221), places Caesar with Scotussa in his rear, and his camp, of course, facing west. He places the camp of Pompey facing the east at the foot of some heights which border the Enipeus. We have seen that Caesar's language implies by way of contrast that his own camp was in the plain, aside from his vague expression "locum in agris." With this restriction, Napier's location can be defended, but no very positive preference of his view or that of Göler can be justified with the evidence now at command.

Speaking of Pompey's line of battle, Caesar says (c. 88, 6): *Dextrum cornu eius rivus quidam impeditis ripis muniebat*. Can this "*rivus quidam*" be the principal river of Thessaliotis, the divine Enipeus, ὃς πολὺ κάλλιστος ποταμῶν ἐπὶ γαίαν ἔησιν? Merivale recognizes the difficulty in the way of this identification, and calls such a use of *rivus* instead of *flumen* "against Caesar's and all correct usage." I may add that to a stream so insignificant that it has not yet been conclusively identified at all, and can in no case

be one of the main rivers of Thessaly,<sup>1</sup> Caesar gives the name *flumen* (c. 97, 4). It is also dangerous to argue from the insignificant volume of rivers in Greece to-day, that they were equally insignificant twenty centuries ago. This Leake and those who follow him have done. The *rivus quidam* must have been, as Göler and Long argue, one of the many mountain streams flowing down from the hills between Pelasgiotis and Thessaliotis into the Enipeus. Two such streams are represented on Kiepert's last maps of ancient and modern Greece (not identically in both), one on each side of the main road from Pharsalus to Larissa.

Against this view are the following ancient authorities, the relative value of whose testimony must now be considered: Frontinus and Orosius, in what they say of the battle (see p. 178), are generally supposed to have drawn from Livy's lost one hundred and eleventh book.<sup>2</sup> As they both locate the battle at Palaepharsalus, it is probable that Livy did so.<sup>3</sup> Frontinus, however, has another statement which would make it appear that Livy called the stream which covered Pompey's right, the "*rivus quidam impeditis ripis*" of Caesar's Commentaries, the Enipeus: *dextro latere [conlocavit] sexcentos equites propter flumen Enipea, qui et alveo suo et alluvie regionem impedierat*. Orosius follows this version in so far as he has Pompey station a small body of horsemen on his right (in *dextro quingenti*). This is in conflict with Caesar (c. 88, 6): *quam ob causam cunctum equitatum, sagittarios funditoresque omnes sinistro cornu obiecerat*. Orosius does not state the reason why Pompey put so few cavalry on his right, and so, of course, does not mention the stream which covered that wing.

In still another point was Livy (as represented by Orosius) at variance with Caesar, viz. in the number of troops engaged on both sides. Pompey's forces Caesar gives (c. 88, 5) as one hundred and ten cohorts, or forty-five thousand regular legionary soldiers, besides two thousand *evocati*. Pompey's cavalry Caesar estimates at seven thousand, against his own one thousand (c. 84, 4). But Livy (Orosius) puts Pompey's line of battle at eighty-eight cohorts only, or forty thousand men, and his cavalry, on both

<sup>1</sup> On what evidence Drumann concludes that the stream at the base of the hill on which the remnants of Pompey's army made their final stand was the Enipeus (*l. c.* p. 515), I cannot imagine.

<sup>2</sup> Bludau, *de fontibus Frontini*, Diss. Regimont., Brunsbergae, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> The Epitome, however, has "*apud Pharsaliam*."

wings together, at only eleven hundred, praeterea reges multi, senatores, equitesque Romani plurimi absque levium armatorum magna copia. Again, Caesar states his own force engaged to have consisted of eighty cohorts, or twenty-two thousand men (c. 89, 2), while Livy (Orosius) runs them up to "non minus quam triginta milia peditum." It is clear then that Livy (Orosius) followed some account of the battle which was more favorable to Pompey and less favorable to Caesar than Caesar himself.<sup>1</sup>

Plutarch (Pomp. 69, *fin.*, Caes. 42, *fin.*) and Appian (B. C. II 70), who are generally believed to represent, at least ultimately, Asinius Pollio, agree perfectly with Caesar in his estimate of the forces engaged. Appian states that among many conflicting estimates he follows *Roman* authorities as the more trustworthy. The Roman authorities upon the battle were Caesar and his friend but faithful critic Pollio, and we have no account of the civil war emanating from the opposite side. A lost cause does not incite so many historians as a winning one. This Arnold of Rugby laments in his History of the Roman Commonwealth (Am. ed. p. 269), as soon as Caesar's Commentaries on the Civil War become his main authority. "The English reader," he says, "will, perhaps, have a more lively sense of its incompetence, if he considers what sort of a history could be drawn up of the events of more modern wars, if we had no other materials than the gazettes or bulletins of one party only." But some anti-Caesarian account of Pompey's last campaigns must have been accessible to Livy, and to this Pompeian version of the battle of Palaepharsalus we may fairly suppose that Livy went for items most favorable to Pompey, in whose cause he was such an enthusiast as to win the epithet of Pompeian from Augustus. And it may well have been this or a similar strictly partisan account of the battle, written in Greek and by a Greek,<sup>2</sup> with which Appian contrasts his Roman authorities with great parade of critical suspense.

In Livy, then, who followed an account of the battle which certainly was not from so competent a witness as Caesar or Pollio, there may have been expressions of local description which led Frontinus to call the stream covering Pompey's right the Enipeus, and to say of Caesar's approach and order of battle, *sinistrum*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hugo Grohs, *Der Werth des Geschichtswerkes des Cassius Dio* (Berlin, 1884), p. 69, where other proofs are given that Livy used some Pompeian version of the battle.

<sup>2</sup> This was very probably Theophanes Mytilenaeus. Cf. Grohs, *l. c.* p. 73.

latus, ne circuiiri posset, admovit paludibus. This, were there no indications of any kind to the contrary, might be taken as establishing the fact that the Enipeus was the stream which covered Pompey's right, especially as Lucan has (Phars. VII 224 ff.):

At juxta fluvios, et stagna undantis Enipei  
Cappadocum montana cohors, et largus habenae  
Ponticus ibat eques. Sicci sed plurima campi  
Tetrarchae, regesque tenent, etc.

Plutarch also (Brut. 4, 6) speaks of Pompey's camp on the day before the battle as *πρὸς ἐλώδεσι χωρίοις*, and of Brutus escaping from the camp after the battle by a gate leading *πρὸς τόπον ἐλώδη καὶ μεστὸν ὑδάτων καὶ καλάμουν*. But with Caesar's deliberate expression against this identification of the Enipeus, and with the general arguments on military grounds against it, we must either deny the sufficiency of the authority for any contrary view, or must explain these passages otherwise. I should be content to balance the authority of Caesar, supported by the general military arguments, over against the unknown Pompeian source of Livy, supported by rather vague concordances in Plutarch and Lucan, and choose the former. But another explanation of the language of Frontinus is possible. It may not rest on any statements of Livy, but be his own expansion and elucidation of Caesar's "*rivus quidam impeditis ripis*." As such it would certainly favor the view that the stream was the Enipeus, but, taking into account the fact that almost any name would do as well for the object which Frontinus had in mind, viz. a description of the strategical disposition of the forces on both sides, and the fact that the Enipeus was the main river of the scene, so that it would naturally suggest itself to one indifferent about and ignorant of the exact geographical details, the evidence is not strong enough to prevail against that on the other side.

There remain to be considered only the statements of Appian concerning Pompey (B. C. II 65, 75): *καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Καίσαρι περὶ Φάρσαλον, καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίων ἀλλήλων ἀπέχον, and παρέτασσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐνιπέως ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντιδιέκόσμη.* The first statement puts a distance between the two camps which can harmonize with either Göler's or Napier's view of the position of Caesar's camp, owing to the width of even the right half of the valley of the Enipeus. The second statement is the sole ancient authority for locating the battle on the left bank of the Enipeus. It has led to impossible views.



Mommsen assumes that Appian means Neopharsalus in distinction from Palaepharsalus. But in view of the other evidence it is not improbable that Appian purposely used Pharsalus loosely for Palaepharsalus, and it is quite possible that he blundered and failed to distinguish between the two. That this last supposition is not too harsh in the case of Appian can be shown from many worse mistakes. One example I have given in this Journal, Vol. V, p. 325 ff. As to the minor question whether the stream covering Pompey's right was the Enipeus, Appian's words do not necessarily imply this. They apply equally well to a line of battle parallel to the river.

In conclusion, I consider it certain that both camps were on the right of the Enipeus, somewhere near the main route between Pharsalus and Larissa, and that the battle was fought at the base of the hills on whose slope Pompey's camp was pitched, near Palaepharsalus. I consider it probable that Palaepharsalus was on the hills north of the Enipeus and west of the main road north and south, that Pompey's line of battle extended east and west, parallel with the Enipeus, and covered on the right by a small stream running from the hills into the main river. This also makes Göler's position for Caesar's camp the more probable one. All these probabilities could be tested by explorations and excavations in the territory under consideration, similar to those carried on for Napoleon in France on the presumable sites of Caesar's encampments and engineering works. Such investigations are suggested by Seldner in the paper referred to. Possibly some member of the American School at Athens may yet undertake them.

B. PERRIN.

#### IV.—GREEK AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM PALESTINE.

The following inscriptions were copied by the Rev. Dr. Selah Merrill in the years 1875-77, in the course of journeys undertaken under the auspices of the American Palestine Exploration Society. An account of these journeys may be found in his book "East of the Jordan" (New York, 1881).

The quotations in the following are from Mr. Merrill's field-notes, except where some other source is indicated.

##### I.

PHILADELPHIA (*Ammān*). From the large temple on the acropolis. "Large blocks of the entablature are lying about, some of them nearly buried in the ground, and on some there are fragments of inscriptions. The letters are very large and were finely cut. The rock was soft, and the letters have suffered very much by bruising. I give a few imperfect fragments. By digging and turning over the blocks of stone, it is quite probable that much of the inscription could be recovered." In "East of the Jordan," p. 265, Mr. Merrill refers to this inscription as "beautifully carved in two lines."

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>
ἡΩNKYI	OYAYPYNΟΥΩΜΕΙ
UTΘIER	N?

*c.*

P?  
OYΩEΘΩNΘXΛΦICΛIO

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>
τ]ων κυ[ρίων · τ[ὸ] ιε[ρόν]	Μάρκο]υ Αὐρ[ηλί]ου [Ἀντ]ωνεῖ[ου]

Of fragment *c* I make nothing. The other two seem to be part of an inscription in honor of M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

The temple is a tetrastyle, with eight columns on the sides. Its dimensions Mr. Merrill gives as follows: length (outside of peristyle) 160 feet; width 50 feet; height of columns 45 feet; diameter of columns 6 feet; diameter of pedestals 6 feet 10 inches; width of entablature 3 feet 6 inches.

2.

PHILADELPHIA. On two sections of a fallen column of the same temple. "When the column was standing, the inscriptions were of course concealed."



Private marks for the direction of the builders. Σείος is perhaps to be taken as a man's name.

3.

Safut. "From a stone in the angle of a beautiful cornice. The ruins may be those of a church or synagogue. The structure was large and elegant, with at least 100 feet front."

ΠΑΤΤΑ	παπα[ι]
ΤΕΚΝΑ	τέκνα.

Compare number 54. The inscription can hardly have anything to do with the building described.

4.

As n. 4 may stand the inscription of Gerasa published with facsimile in this Journal, Vol. III, p. 206, to which I recur for the purpose of making a correction. Professor F. P. Brewer kindly pointed out to me by letter, that at the end of the 10th line ε[ρ]ε[ρ]α[α] should be read instead of [ρ]ε[ρ]α[α]σ[η]; this is undoubtedly right. It may be worth while to repeat the text of this interesting epitaph, thus corrected:

Ἰουλιανὴν ο[ὕ]το[ς] | κεύθει τάφος, ἦν | κ[τ]ερείξεν  
 ἔσχα|τα σωφροσύν[ης] | ἄθλα τίνων γα[μέτ]ης· |  
 οὐ μέτα δεῦρο μολοῦσ' | ἀπὸ πατρίδος Ἀντισ|χείης  
 οὐκέτι πρὸς π[ά]τρην τῶδ' ἀπελεύσεθ' ἄμ[α]. |  
 ἀλλ' ἔλαχεν γαί[ης] ἐ[τ]έρ[α]ς | μέρος Ἀντιοχείης,  
 τ[οῦ]τ[ο], | τό μιν ψυχ[ῆς] σῶμα] κε|νὸν κατέχει.  
 πρ[η]ῦτάτῃ | μίμνοις, Ἥχοι δ' [ἐπ'] Ἰσης | λαλείοις μοι,  
 σ[ὺ] γαμέ|τῃ· Πανὸς τοῦν[ο]μ[α] | γὰρ κατέχω.

## 5.

GERASA (*Jerash*). "Over the great gate in the wall on the west side of the city<sup>1</sup> was originally a long inscription. The arch and gateway are now in ruins. The letters are of unusual size, and were engraved with great skill. If the great blocks of stone could be turned over, possibly more of the inscription could be recovered."

ΤΟΥΞΗΛΡΥΓΡΤΗΣΤΩΝΞ

.ΡΑΙΑΝΗΞΤΗΡΑΝΤΥΛ<sup>1?</sup>...

..ΙΔΙ.ΙΩΝΑΝΟΗΚΑΝΚΑ.....

..ΕΙΩΝΟΥΚΟΜ..ΟΥΤΡΓ.....

ἐ]τους[ς] λρ' ὑ[πέρ] τῆς τῶν σ[ε]βαστῶν αὐτοκρατόρων σωτηρίας οἱ δεῖνες  
 . . . ραι ἀν[έ]στη[σ]αν πύλ[ην] . . . . . ἐκ  
 τῶν ἰ]δίων ἀν[έ]θηκ[α]ν κα . . . . . [Ἀν-  
 ωνεί]νου Κομ[όδου] πρ[ο]κρίτου τῆς νεότητος? . . . . .

The block which contains this has been broken: the transpositions, therefore (the E of ὑπέρ has strayed into the line below, and in the last line we have ΕΙΩ for ΙΩΝΕΙ), may be due to misplacement of the fragments.

This inscription, together with n. 17,<sup>2</sup> establishes with a reasonable degree of probability, the epoch of the city of Gerasa. We have as data:

Year 559; May of a fifth indiction:

Year 138 (apparently); with mention of Commodus.

<sup>1</sup> There are two gates on the west side of Gerasa. In answer to an inquiry, Mr. Merrill decides that this was the more northerly of the two, the one "on the main road to Süf."

<sup>2</sup> The indiction-number in n. 16 is diplomatically uncertain, and so of no independent value.

To bring 138 within the adult life of Commodus, we must assume this 5th indiction to be that which began September 601 A. D. The date of n. 17 must therefore be May 602; the year 559 of Gerasa must begin somewhere between May 2d, 601, and May 31st, 602; and the year 1 of Gerasa must begin somewhere between May 2d, 43 and May 31st, 44.

It is natural to connect this with the death of Herodes Agrippa, early in 44. That event, for most of Palestine, marked the end of the tetrarchal dominion and the re-establishment of direct provincial government. The Greek cities of the "decapolis" in the earlier days of the province (and presumably after 44 A. D. as well) enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy. Of their status in the time of Herod the Great and his successors, we have little direct knowledge. But whatever it was, it is altogether credible that the year 44 made a great change in their condition.

Clinton<sup>1</sup> guesses that Agrippa's death may have occurred in the *summer* of 44. But it may just as well have been in the spring. All we know is that three full years had elapsed since he had been given the sovereignty of Judaea by Claudius, and this, it may be inferred, took place very soon after Claudius' accession in January 41.

We have therefore good reason for fixing, provisionally at least, the era of Gerasa in the spring of 44 A. D. To return to the inscription in hand: if we read in the first line  $\eta\lambda\rho' = 138$ , we are led to the year 181-2 A. D., the second year of Commodus's reign. But the plural  $\tau\omega\nu$  in the opening formula seems to point imperatively to one of the last years of M. Aurelius, during which there were two Augusti. Commodus was made *princeps iuuentutis* in 175, *imperator* (along with his father) in 176, and Augustus in 177. Between 177 and 180 would be the time of our monument. I venture therefore to suppose that the numeral H of Mr. Merrill's copy is in reality  $\bar{\text{H}}$ . We get thus the year 136 of Gerasa; that is from spring 179 to spring 180. Commodus was consul in 179, and it may be as consul that he was mentioned in this inscription.

## 6.

GERASA. "Tablet of limestone 22 X 32 inches, with a lion in repose carved upon it. The inscription was above the lion and close to the upper edge."

<sup>1</sup> Fasti Romani, under year 44.



ΤΩΚΟCΜΨΚΑΤΕΙΛΗΝΕ  
ΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΕΠΟΙΙΙ.ΝΕ  
ΕΤΟΥCΗΡ

[οἱ δεῖνες . . . . . σὺν]

τῷ κόσμῳ κατ' εἶλην ἐ-

κ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπο[ίησα]ν

ἔτους ρρ' (or ςρ'?)

Compare CIG. 4607 (Wadd. 2309): τὸν ναὸν σὺν παντὶ κόσμῳ εὖσεβῶν ἐξ ἰδίων ᾠκοδόμησεν. The E at the end of the second line seems to have come by mistake from the line above. Κατ' εἶλην = 'collectively.' The year 190 of Gerasa (see on 5) is 233 A. D.; the year 106 is 149 A. D.

## 7.

GERASA. "Stone 35½ X 25½ inches."

ΗΝΕΜΕCΙCΚΑΙΤΑΤΑΡΑΚCΙΜΕΝΑΚΑΙΟΒΩ . . .  
ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΕΚΔΙΛΘΗΚΜΕΔΗΛΙΗΙΡΙΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΟΦΑΝΟ . .  
ΔΥΑΕΤΙΜΕΛΗΤΩΝΝΙΡΟΙΙΑΥΟΥΛΥCΑΤΟΥΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟ  
ΚΑΙΑΜΥΝΤΟΥΜΑΛΛΑΤΕΙΝΗC

ἡ Νέμεσις καὶ τὰ παρακ[ε]ίμεν[α] καὶ ὁ βω[μὸς]  
ἐγένετο ἐκ δι[α]θήκη[ς] Δη[μ]η[τ]ρίου Ἀπολλοφάνο[υς]  
δ[ι]ὰ ἐπιμελητῶν Νι[κ]ο[μ]ά[χ]ου Αὐσάτου (?), Νικομάχο[υ]  
καὶ Ἀμύντου Μαλλατείνης (?)

GERASA.

## 8.

ΕΝΤΕΥΘΕΝ  
ΗΡΞΑΤΟΤΟ  
ΕΡΓΟΝΤΗΣ  
ΚΑΤΑCΤΡΩ  
CΕΟCΤΗCCKA  
ΦΗCΕΤΙ . . .  
ΑΡΧΗCCAΥΡΗ  
ΛΙΟΥCΑΡΑΠΟ  
ΔΩΡΟΥΕΠΙΤ  
ΤΗΝΤΕΤΡΑ  
ΟΔΙΑΝ

ἐντεῦθεν  
ἤρξατο τὸ  
ἔργον τῆς  
καταστρώ-  
σεως τῆς σκά-  
φης, ἐπὶ [τῆς]  
ἀρχῆς Σ(έξτου) Αὐρη-  
λίου Σαραπο-  
δώρου, ἐ[στ' ἐ]π[ὶ]  
τὴν τετρα-  
οδίαν.

I do not venture to disturb καταστροφῆς, in view of πόλεος, n. 26, and ἱερός, n. 66.

9.

GERASA. "On three adjacent columns, still standing, which formed part of the great circle of columns inclosing the forum or large market-place."

a.  
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΝΟΣ  
ΕΠΛΗΡΩCEN Δημητριάδης  
ἐπλήρωσεν.

b.  
CABEINOCCTPATHΓΙΟΥ  
ΕΠΛΗΡΩCEN Σαβείνος Στρατηγίου  
ἐπλήρωσεν.

c.  
ΕΡΜΟΛΑΟΣΔΗΜΗ  
ΤΡΙΟΥΕΠΛΗΡΩCEN Ἑρμόλαος Δημη-  
τρίου ἐπλήρωσεν.

Ἑπλήρωσεν = 'paid for.'

10.

GERASA.



χαίρ-  
οις Κ[ά  
λλιστ-  
ε.

11.

GERASA.

NETAIIIOEΡ  
ΥΤΟΥ . . . ν ἐτ[α]ῖ[ρ]ο[ς] ρ . .  
ΔCNONHCAC Ϯ . . . νου  
οὐ]δ[ε]ν ὀνήσας.

Fragment (including the end) of a metrical epitaph.

## 12.

GERASA. A fragment.

PRINC. PEREORI.

princ[i]pe [p]r[i]or[e]

## 13.

GERASA. A fragment.

ΑΓΟΡΕΩ...

## 14.

GERASA. A fragment.

Ω  
ΞΥΜΞΜ  
Ω

## 15.

GERASA. "On two sides of the base of a column."

ΙΗΓΟΡΞ ΤΟ Θ	C T A I ω P I M
----------------	--------------------

I leave to others the interpretation of these signs, which appear to be partly numerals.

## 16.

GERASA.<sup>1</sup> This inscription was copied by Dieterici about 1850, and has been twice published on the basis of his copy: first by Boeckh, in the *Monatsbericht* of the Berlin Academy, 1853, p. 23; and afterwards by Kirchhoff in the *Corpus Inscr. Graec.* Vol. IV, n. 8654. Since then three other copies, made by English travellers, have been made public in the *Quarterly Statement* of the English Palestine Exploration Fund: one by R. B. Girdle-

<sup>1</sup> Conder gives the location of this inscription as "in a building south of the Great Temple."

stone (made in 1860), Statement 1883, p. 198; another by A. E. Northey, in *minuscules* (made 1871), Statement 1872, p. 70; another by C. R. Conder (made 1882), Statement 1882, p. 219. Mr. Merrill's copy was made in 1876.

With the aid of these *five* copies a nearer restoration of the inscription is now possible. Mr. Merrill says "the letters were finely cut, and are generally distinct." Northey, on the other hand, "It is almost impossible to decipher the latter portion."

Mr. Merrill's copy, which is the best of the five, reads as follows :

ΔΟΜΟΣΕΙΜΙΑΕΘΛΟΦΟΡΟΥΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ + ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟCΑΘΑΝΑΤ . . .  
 . ΩΚΕΑΝΟΙΟCΩΗΑΓΑΡΕΝΤΑΙΗΥΥΧΗΔΕΙCΟΥΡΑΝΟΝΕΥΡΥΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗ.  
 . ΝΤΕΛΕΘΕΙΚΑΓΗΡΑΟΝΕΡΜΑ . . ΑCΤΕΙΚΑΙΝΑΕΤΗCΙΚΑΙΕCCOMENC . .  
 . . . ΡΤΥΡΙΟΝΜΔΙΩΤΗC . . ΠΙΝΔΚΑΝΗΛΘΕΝΤΑΥΤΕ

The chief variants of the other four copies are these :

*Line 1:* ΟΜΟC *G*(irdlestone), *C*(onder), ΟΜΟC *D*(ieterici), Δομος *N*(orthey).—ΡΟΥ in Θεοδώρου omitted by *D*.—Cross after Θεοδώρου omitted by *DGCN*.—ΜΑΡΤΗΡΟC *D*.—*C* omits all after ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ, *D* all after ΑΘΑ, *N* all after *athan*; *G* gives ΑΘΑΝΑΤ(ΟΥ).

*Line 2:* ΚΕΑΝΘΙΟ *D*, ΩΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ *G*, ΙΚΕΑΝΟΙΟ + *C*, ωκεανω *N*.—ΕΩΜΑΓΛΡ *D*.—ΕΝΓΑΙΗ *DG*, ΕΝΓΑΗ *C*, ενται . . . η *N*.—ΕΙC *D*.—ΑΓΓΕΧΙΚ . . *D*, ΑΓΓΕΛΙ . . *G*, ΑCΕΕΛΙΚΕ *C*, αγγελθη(?) *N*.

*Line 3:* ΙΤΕΛΕΘΕΙ *C*, ΤΕΛΕΘΕΙ *DG*, τελεσει *N*.—κατηραον *N*.—ΕΡΜΑ *D*, ΕΡ . . *C*, ερμ . . *N*.—Gap of several letters after *ερμα* indicated by *GCN*: no gap *D*.—ΑCΤΕΙ *G*, ΟΕΤΕΥ *D*, ΓΤΕΙ *C*, αγιρι *N*.—κ . . . και (for ΚΑΙ) *N*.—ΝΑΕΤΝΕΙ *D*, ΝΑΕΠΤΗΙ *G*, ΝΑΕΤΗC *C*, νορπηc *N*.—ΕCCOMΕΝΟΙΟ *G*, ΕCCOMΕΝΟ *C*, εωρμενο . . *N*, ΕCΕΟΜΕΝ *D*.

*Line 4:* ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ *G*, μαρτυριον *N*, ΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ *D*, ΡΤΥΡΙ . . . *C*.—ΜΑΙΩ *D*, ηωα *N* (*GC* like Merrill).—ΤΗC . . . ΤΙΝΑΚ *G*, ΤΗC . . . . . ΕΙΝΑΚ *C*, της . . . . . ινακ *N*, ΤΗΕΙΝΔΚ *D*.—ανηλθενταπε *N* (*DGC* precisely like Merrill, save that *C* has a gap between ΗΛ and ΘΕΝ).

+ κυριακός] δόμος εἰμὶ ἀεθλοφόρου Θεοδώρου +  
 μάρτυρος ἀθανάτ[ου, κλέος οὐ καὶ ἐπ'] ὠκεανοῖο +  
 σῶμα γὰρ ἐν γαίῃ, ψυχὴ δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν [ +  
 ἀγγελικ[ὴν ἄνοδο]ν τελέθει, καὶ ἀγήραον ἔρμα [ +  
 ἄσται καὶ ναέτῃσι καὶ ἐσσομένοι[σι τέτυκται. +  
 ἐθεμελιώθη τὸ] μαρτύριον Μαίω τῇ ε' [τῆς ζ'] ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) καὶ ἀνῆλθεν ΤΑ  
 υπέ.

Kirchhoff is doubtless right in understanding μαρτύριον, not as the tomb of the saint, but as a church built in his honor. So a μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου, CIG. 8616, at Shakka (Saccaea) in the Trachonitis.

For the beginning, see CIG. 8652, κυριακὸς ἁγίου Ἡλυσίου τοῦ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος. The supplement in the second verse (κλέος οὐ καὶ ἐπ') is from Kirchhoff, who, however, has ἀθάνατον.

The verb τελέθει is here transitive. In late Greek, τελέθω was used as equivalent to τελέω. Orac. Sibyll. iii. 263: τοῖσι μόνοις καρπὸν τελέθει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα | ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς ἑκατόν, τελέθοντό τε μέτρα θεοῖο. Christian epigram in Anthol. Palat. i. 31, 3: πνευμένη πρᾶπιδεσιν ὑπὲρ μερόπων τελέθουσα, where Jacobs says wrongly "scribe τελέουσα." See L. Dindorf at the end of the article τελέθω in the Paris Thesaurus.<sup>1</sup>

The last line is puzzling. The letters of the latter half of it, from K on, seem certain, from the consensus of all the copies; and Kirchhoff's drastic remodelment cannot stand. Probably, however, Kirchhoff was right in taking ντε at the end as a date. The year 485 of Gerasa began, if our calculation is right, in the spring of 528 A. D. May of 528 was in a 6th indiction, and the sign before ΙΝΔ, which Girdlestone read as a T, Conder as an E, and Merrill as a Γ, may very likely have been Ξ or Σ. The expression ἀνῆλθεν is singular, though ἀνηγέρθη is frequent enough. Supposing this right, we have left the letters TA, which I am unable to explain. Possibly τ(ῆς) Ἀ(ντιοχείας)?

## 17.

GERASA. "The form of the letters and the character of the stone seem to indicate that both belonged to the same inscription." Besides Mr. Merrill's copy, we have one of both *a* and *b*, made by Conder (in 1882), published in the Quarterly Statement of the English Palestine Exploration Fund for 1882, pp. 218 and 219; and a very imperfect one of *b* only, made by Girdlestone (in 1860)

<sup>1</sup> Manuscripts give this transitive τελέθω sometimes where it ought not to stand. Thus in Oppian Cyn. iv. 149, and Manetho Apotelesm. vi. 351, τελέθουσι has been rightly corrected into τελέουσι. Both Manetho and Oppian use τελέθω constantly in the old and correct sense. Even Orph. Lith. 586: εἶθ' ὅσα λύματ' ἐπὶ σφισιν ἦδ' ἐπαιοῖδ' | σχέτλιοι ἀλλήλοισι μεγαῖροντες τελέθουσιν it would hardly be safe to leave (Hermann writes τελέουσιν), when we read in verse 100 θυσίαι ἱεροπρεπέες τελέθουσιν, ἅς ἀγαθοὶ βέζονσι βροτοί.



and published in the same periodical, 1883, p. 108. The parts *a* and *b* have been separated. According to Conder, *a* is "in a building south of the Great Temple" (the same in which n. 16 is found), and *b* "in the Southern Theatre."

Mr. Merrill's copy is as follows :

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>
ΟΥΘΕΟΕΙΔΕΟΣΟΥΚΛΕΟΣΕ . .	ΤΤΗΕΝΧΘΟΝΙΚΤΠΟΝΤΩ
ΗΜΕΤΑΤΠΟΤΜΟΝΑΕΙΜΕΤΕΧ	ΟΥΣΑΧΟΡΕΙΗΕΡΚΟΣ
.. Ο / . ΕΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΙΕ + ΧΑΡΙΤΙΤ	ΟΥΘΥΕΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΘΗ
ΟΥΡΑΕΝΜΔΙΩΤΗΕ . . .	.. ΙΤΟΥΘΝΦ-ΕΤΕ

The other two copies are much less carefully done, and none of their variations have any significance except these.—At the beginning of line 1 of *b*, Conder has ΙΙΤΗ, Girdlestone ΠΤΗ.—The beginning of line 3 of *a* reads in Conder ΙΕΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΙΕ, after which he marks the cross distinctly.—The fourth line (which Girdlestone omits entirely) reads in Conder's copy thus :

<i>a.</i>	<i>b.</i>
ΟΥΡΑΕΝΜΔΙΩΤΗΕ . . .	Ο ΘΝΟΕΤΓ

The inscription is complete on the right, but much is lacking on the left. It ran in four hexameters, followed by prose, somewhat as follows :

+ εἰμὶ δόμος Στεφάνου ? θεοείδους, οὗ κλέος ἔπη  
 ἐν χθονὶ καὶ πόντῳ, [ψυχὴ δὲ κατ' αἰθέρα ναίει,  
 ἀγγελικῇ]ς μετὰ πότμον αἰὲ μετέχουσα χορείης,  
 ἔρκος [ἐοῦσα καὶ ἄμμι καὶ ἐσσομένο]ισι πολίταις. +  
 χάριτι τ[ο]ῦ θεοῦ ἐθεμελιώθη [ . . . . . καὶ ἡ] θύρα ἐν Μ[α]ρίφ  
 τῆς ε' [ινδ.] τοῦ θνφ' ἔτ[ους].

For the date of the inscription, probably 602 A. D., see on n. 5. That the indiction-number here is 5 (ε'), and not 15 (ε') is pretty clear from n. 16, in which the indiction-number, though not distinct, may be Ξ, but cannot be Α.

18.

GERASA. Published, but much less correctly, in the Corp. Insc. Graec., No. 4662 *b* (compare also the addenda, Vol. iii, p. 1183), from Buckingham.

ΕΠΙΦΑΗΛΙ  
 ΤΟΥΗΕΦΑΛΟΤΡΕ  
 ΠΕΕΤΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΡ  
 ΡΙΒΛΕΠΤΟΥΚΟΜΙΤ  
 ΚΑΙΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΕΓ  
 ΝΕΤΟΤΟΕΡΓΟΝΤΟΥ  
 ΕΜΒΟΛΟΥ

[κατὰ κέλευσιν]  
 [τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ]  
 ἐπιφα[νεστά-  
 του [μ]ε[γ]αλοπρε-  
 πε[σ]τάτου καὶ π[ε]-  
 ριβλέπτου κόμιτ[ος]  
 καὶ ἄρχοντος [έ]γ[έ]-  
 νετο τὸ ἔργον τοῦ  
 ἐμβό[λ]ου.

The letters ΛΙ at the end of line 1, "look," Mr. Merrill says, "as if scratched on by a later hand." The ἐμβολος is a porch attached to a church or other building; see CIG. 8641 (= Waddington, n. 1878), and Byzantine writers.

GERASA.

19.

ΛΟΥ  
 ΤΟΥΕ  
 ΗΤΟΥ

Candel-  
 abrum

A fragment which I cannot explain.

20.

GERASA. Mr. Merrill gives a new copy of the long metrical inscription, Corp. Inscr. Gr. 8655. Although it suggests no new readings, it is in some places more correct than those hitherto published, and I print it here:

Line 1.

+ ΘΑΜΒΟΣΟΗΟΥΚΑΙΘΑΥΗΑΤΑΡΕΡΧΟΗΕΝΟΙCΙΝΕΤΥΧΘΗΝ  
 ΠΑΝΤΑ<sup>Γ?</sup>ΡΑΚΟCΗCΛΕΛΥΤΑΙΝΕΦΟCΑΝΤΙΔΕΛΗΝ  
 ΗCΤΗCΠΡΟΤΕΡΗCΠΑΝΤΗΙ.ΙΕΘΡΟΥΧΑΡΙCΑΜΦΙ  
 ΒΕΒΗΚΕ<sup>Ε?</sup>ΝΚΑΙΠΟΤΕ...

Line 2.

ΟΤΟΣ ΑΝΟΓΕΟΝΤΑ ΔΑΜΕΙΝ ΕΝΘΑ ΔΕΡΙΠΤΟΜΕΝΩ<sup>Θ?</sup>ΝΟΔΜΗΔ  
 ΙΕΓΕΙΡΕΙ ΡΕΤΟΛΥΓΡΗ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΚΙΚΑΤΤΑΡΙΩΗΓΙ<sup>Τ?</sup>Σ  
 ΕΔΡΑΞΑΤΟΡΙ<sup>Ν?Σ?</sup>Β ΟΣΚΑΙΤΗΟΙΗΕΠ . . . .

Line 3.

ΚΑΚΟΣ ΜΗΝ ΗΛΕΕΙΝΩΝ ΗΥΗΔΕΔΙΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΟΙΟΤΤΕΔΟΥΤΕΡ  
 ΩΗΤΕΓΟΔΕΙΤΑΙ + ΔΕΞ<sup>Π or ΙΠ?</sup>ΤΤΓΡΗΥΤΑΛΛΗΝΣΦΕΤΕΡΩ  
 ΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΥΣΙ ΜΕΤΩΠΩ<sup>-?</sup>ΣΤΑ<sup>ΧΑ?</sup>ΣΑΥΡΟΥΤΙΜΗΕΝΤ . . . .

Line 4.

ΕΙΔΕΘΕΛΕΙΣΚΤΟΥΤΟΔΑΗΜΕΝΑΙΟΦΡΕΥΕΙΔΗΣ + ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ  
 ΤΟΔΕΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΕΜΟΙΤΟΡΕΝΑΞΙΕΡΑΣΤΟΝΤΑΝΟΣΦ<sup>Θ?</sup>  
 ΟΣΕΥΣΕΒΙΝΗΜΕΛΗΗΕΝΟΣΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ +

This copy is at least as good as the two older ones on which Boeckh's restoration (reproduced by Kirchhoff) is based. Much worse is that published in 1870 by two Italians, Garovaglio and Vigoni, and discussed by Moritz Schmidt in the *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1870, p. 814. The inscription was also printed, in minuscules and very inaccurately, in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Explor. Fund*, 1869, p. 389, on the basis of two unpublished copies made by Girdlestone and Warren in 1857 and 1867 respectively.

## 21.

PELLA (*Tubakat Fak'l*). "Very large letters over the door of a tomb that had been recently opened." In "East of the Jordan," p. 185, Mr. Merrill says: "The door of this tomb was 37 inches wide, 5 feet high, and 7½ inches thick. It had three loculi. The inscription, short as it is, occupied 33 inches on the lintel."

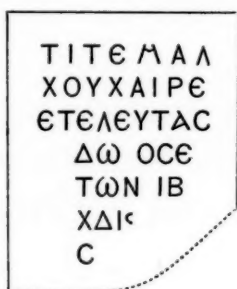
ΦΩC ΦΟΡΟΥ

Φωσφόρου.

The name CIG. 9169 and elsewhere.

## 22.

GADARA. "On a raised tablet on a broken section of a large basalt column. In the blanks of lines 4 and 5 there are no traces of letters. The letters were neatly cut."



Τίτε Μάλ-  
χου χαῖρε.  
ἐτελεύτας  
ᾶ]ω[ρ]ος ἐ-  
τῶν ιβ'.  
χ[α]ῖρε καὶ  
σ[ύ].

## 23.

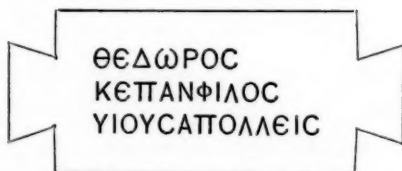
GADARA. "Over the entrance to a tomb." Framed in and complete. Less correctly in Corp. Inscr. Graec. 4660.

ΓΑΙΟΥΑΝΝΙΟΥΓΑΑΝΥΙΦ

Γαίου Ἀννίου Γα(ίου) Ἀν(νίου) νί[ς].

## 24.

GADARA. "Over the door of a beautiful tomb." Framed in and complete.



Θέδωρος  
κὲ Πάνφιλος  
υἱοὺς Ἀπολλεῖς.

The syntax of the last line is a barbarism.

## 25.

*Beit er Ras.* "The stone is hard basalt. The centre (the circles, etc.) is raised, and the letters and ornamentation are finely carved. The bottom of the face of the tablet has been chiselled

off, cutting away the lower part of the circles." "It appeared to be a lintel, and is supported now at each end by stones."



ἔτους κατὰ κτίσιν τῆς πόλεως  
κε' Λούκιος Οὐαλέριος Οὐάλης ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησεν.

The raised part in the middle was originally blank, and an inscription was cut in two lines, above and below this part, of which the first line still remains. A later possessor of the tomb, L. Valerius Valens, chiselled off the second line and inserted the new date (κε') and his own name with what follows, as well as he could, in the middle.

26.

*Irbid* (ARBELA?) near Beit er Ras. "Stone now used as the lintel of a small house or goat-pen, placed so that the inscription faced the ground or threshold." See "East of the Jordan," p. 293.

ΕΤΟΥCΙΕΚΑΤΑΚΤΙ<sup>Τ?</sup>  
CΙΝΤΗCΠΟΛΕΟ  
ΛΟΥΚΙΟCΔΟΜΗ  
ΤΙΟCΜΛΗΩΡ<sup>Α?Τ?</sup>  
ΤΗΝCΤΗΛΗΝΑΥΙΟ<sup>Τ?</sup>  
CΥΝΤΩΕΝΑΥΤΗΜΝ  
Λ<sup>Α?</sup>ΜΙΩΕΠΟΙΗCΕΝ

ἔτους ιε' κατὰ κτί-  
σιν τῆς πόλεο[s]  
Λούκιος Δομ[ι]-  
τιος Μα[ι]ωρ  
τὴν στήλην αὐτ[ῷ]  
σὺν τῷ ἐν αὐτῇ μν-  
η]μίῳ ἐποίησεν.

27.

*Irbid*. "On the lintel, still in position, of a small temple or a large tomb. The building belongs to the best class of Hauran ruins." See also "East of the Jordan," p. 293.





μετὰ  
πάντα,  
τ[ο]ῦ[το].

Compare the end of an epitaph in Waddington, n. 1936: *ὅταν κάμῃς, τοῦτο τέλος*. There is a curious epitaph of Berytus (Beirut), published in Perrot's "Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure et de Syrie" (Paris, 1877), p. 66, and of which I find a squeeze among Mr. Merrill's papers: *θάρσι Ἀρτεμιδώρα, οὐδὶ(ς) ἀθάνατος. ταῦτα ζήσασα ἔτη κθ'.* Here *ταῦτα* must mean "to this thou hast come," or something similar.

NAWA.

28.



I do not make out this name. *θπ'* appears to be the age.

29.

ADRAA (*Dra'a*). This and the following ten gravestones "had, with others, just been dug up from a depth of ten feet below the surface of the ground." "These eleven are but a few of a large number which exist at this place."

ΓΑΥΕ  
ΗΝΑC  
ΡΑΛΛ  
ΟΥΕΤ  
Λ Β

Γανέη Νασράλλου  
ἔτ(ων) λβ'.

Γανέη = Γαουαίη in Waddington, n. 2032.

- |        |   |  |
|--------|---|--|
| ADRAA. | <p>ZABO<br/>Υ Δ Α<br/>Θ Η Ν<br/>Α Σ Ρ<br/>Α Λ Λ<br/>ΟΥΕΤ<br/>ΚΗ</p> | <p>30.</p> <p>Ζαβουδάθη<br/>Νασράλλου<br/>ἐτ(ῶν) κη'</p> |
| ADRAA. | <p>ΜΑΡΩ<br/>ΝΑΟΦ<br/>ΙΛ . . Γ<br/>ΠΟΥ<br/>ΕΤΛ</p>                   | <p>31.</p> <p>Μαρῶνας<br/>Φιλ[ίπ]που<br/>ἐτ(ῶν) λ'.</p>  |
| ADRAA. | <p>ΣΕΜ<br/>ΑΘΗ<br/>ΜΑΡ<br/>ΩΝΑ<br/>ΕΤ</p>                           | <p>32.</p> <p>Σεμάθη Μαρῶνα<br/>ἐτ(ῶν) . .</p>           |
| ADRAA. | <p>ΟΦΡΗ<br/>ΜΙΓΝΑ<br/>ΟΥ·ΕΤ<br/>ΚΔ</p>                              | <p>33.</p> <p>Ὀφρη Μιγνάου<br/>ἐτ(ῶν) κδ'.</p>           |
| ADRAA. | <p>ΓΕΡΜ<br/>ΑΝΟC<br/>ΜΑΥ<br/>ΕΙΛΟ<br/>CΕΤ</p>                       | <p>34.</p> <p>Γερμανός<br/>Μαύειλος<br/>ἐτ(ῶν) . .</p>   |

The similar name, Μαύελος, occurs Waddington, n. 2055.

ADRAA.

ΘΗΑΤΤΟ  
WINAPI

35.

. . . . θη 'Απο[λλ]ιναρί[ου].

ADRAA.

ΟΥΛ  
ΘΛΛ  
ΘΗC  
ΑΧΟ  
ΝΟΥΕ  
ΤΚΕ

36.

Οὐ[αε]λ[ά]θης  
'Ασχόνου, ἐτ(ῶν) κέ'.

Οὐαελάθης is nominative masculine, like Σιάθης, Ζαβδαάθης (Waddington, n. 2162, 2618), and others. The corresponding feminine, Οὐαελάθη, in n. 43, and Waddington, n. 2055. With 'Ασχόνου, compare 'Ασχόνη, n. 41.

ADRAA.

ΜΑΡΚ  
ΑΝΟC  
ΑCΟΝ  
CΕΤ  
ΚΔ

37.

Μαρκ[ι]ανὸς [Ἰ]άσον[ο]s,  
ἐτ(ῶν) κδ'.

ADRAA.

Δ□Μ  
ΙΤΤΙ  
□ΝΓ  
ΕΜΕ  
ΛΛ□  
ΝΕΤ  
ΝΑ

38.

Δομίτιον  
Γέμελλον  
ἐτ(ῶν) να'.

ADRAA.

A fragment.

39.

ΔΟΥ

## 40.

BOSTRA (*Bozrah*). "The stone was built into a wall or fence about a grave, the perfect end projecting two or more feet from the ground. It was necessary to dig up the stone before it could be copied. The missing portion could not be found." The inscription is framed in, and complete except on the right.

5

ΟΥΠΟΠ<sup>ΤΙ?</sup>ΤΗΝΒΙΟΤΟΙ<sup>Ε?</sup>Σ  
 ΑΜΑΤΥΧΗΤ<sup>Ο?</sup>ΟCΙΝΜΟΤΕΙ<sup>Α?</sup>  
 ΑΜΟΤΕ<sup>Ο?</sup>ΔΕCΚΑΖΟΥCΑΚΑΚ<sup>Α?</sup>  
<sup>ΑΛ?</sup>ΚΜΟΙCΤΕΦΘΕΝΟΥCΟΛ  
 ΩCΝΥΝΚΥΙΙΗCΜΕΡΑΤΟ  
 ΗΕΟΜΗΚΡΑΗΝΚΑΜΕΙ·ΔΕΙ  
 ΤΗΝΕΤΙΜΗΝΙΚΥΟΥCΑΝΕΝ  
 ΤΗΛ<sup>Δ?</sup>ΕΚΙΝΩΝΦΙΛΟCΥΙΟCΕΔΕΙΜ  
 ΑΙΕΙΜΙΝΛΟΜΟCΟΥΤΟCΕΩΝΙ

οὐποτ' ἔσθην βιώτοι[ο θεοὶ χρηστοῖς ἐπένειμαν,  
 ἀ[λλ]ὰ Τύχη, ποσὶν [ἀλλ]οτε [μὲν κραιπνοῖσι συνθεῖσα  
 ἀ[λλ]οτε δὲ σκάζουσα, κ[α]κ[ὰ φρονέουσα δικαίους  
 κ[α]λοῖς τε φθ[ο]νέουσ' ὁλ[οφώϊα ἔργα τελείει.  
 5 ὥς νῦν Κυ[ρ]ι[ἀ]λλ[η]ς ἐρατὸ[ς βίος ὤλετο λυγρῶς,  
 ἥ[ς θάλλ'] ἡ[λικίῃ], κα[ἀλλ]εῖ δ' ἐ[παγύλλετο μορφῆς.  
 τὴν ἔτι μηνὶ κύουσ[α]ν ἐν [ὀγδόῳ] ἤρπασε δαίμων.  
 τ[ῇ] δὲ Κί[μ]ων φίλος υἱὸς ἐδείμ[ατο σῆμα φαινόν.  
 αἰεὶ μιν [δ]όμος οὗτος ἐὼν [κατέχοι μετὰ παίδων.

The supplements at the end of the lines are meant, of course, to be tentative only. The whole 6th line is very uncertain.

## 41.

BOSTRA. "Built into the steps of the Sheikh's house at Bozrah. One end and two sides were covered by other stones, and it was necessary to get permission to take up this part of the steps before

the inscription could be copied." "The size of the stone was 22 X 28 inches." In spite of the fracture on the right edge the inscription seems to be complete.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΑCΧΟ  
ΝΗΚΑΝΑΝΘΗΝ  
ΗΕΝΘΑΔΕΚΕΤΤΑΙ  
CΩΦΡΩΝΚΑΙΟΙΑ  
ΑΝΔΡΟCΧΕΡCΙΝΚ  
ΗΔΕΝΘΕΙCΑΤΕΚΝ  
ΩΝΤΕΚΑΙΑΝΔΡ  
ΟΟΖΗCΑCΑΕΤΗ  
ΕΙΔΩΝΜΧΑΙΡΩ  
ΠΡΩΔΕΝ

Αύρηλία Ἀσχό-  
νη Κανανθην-  
ἡ ἐνθάδε κε[ῖτ]αι,  
σώφρων καὶ [φ]ίλ-  
ανδρος, χερσὶν κ-  
ηδευθείσα τέκν-  
ων τε καὶ ἀνδρ-  
ός[ς], ζήσασα ἔτη  
μ'.  
πρ[ὸ] δ' εἰδῶν [Φ]ευ-  
ρ]α[ρί]ω[ν] (?)

The gentile *Κανανθνή* is interesting as giving, in yet a new form, the name of the town which usually appears as *Κάναθα*, but also as *Κέναθα*, *Κάνωθα* or *Κάνοθα* (see Waddington on n. 2329); to these must now be added *Κάνανθα*.

The last two lines are muddled. The graver began the date, *πρὸ δ' εἰδῶν*, in the left hand corner, expecting to carry it across the stone, but finding the middle of the stone for some reason impracticable (perhaps it was to be covered) he was crowded into the line above. On the right, the name of some month must have stood. It is perhaps simpler to read *χαῖρ[ε]* above and *[Φ]ευ* below.

## 42.

BOSTRA. "From a grave in Bozrah. The stone was lying on its side, and had been built into a small modern tomb, *i. e.* a pile of stones laid in order over a grave and whitewashed. The ends of the lines on one side seemed to be perfect."

ΘΕΘΑΔΕΚΙ  
ΤΕΟCΕΔΧ  
ΘΗΗΩΟΝΗ  
CΩΦΡΩ  
ΝΖΗCΑCΕΤΤ  
Χ Ι Η

ἐ[ν]θάδε κί-  
τε Ὀσεδ[ά]-  
θ[η] Ἡωόνη (?)  
σώφρων-  
ν] ζήσας' ἔ[τη]  
[✠] ιη'



43.  
BOSTRA. Tombstone.  
OYAE Οὐαε-  
ΛΑΘΗ λάθη  
ABBOY Ἀββου,  
ET AZ ἐτ(ῶν) λζ'.

44.  
BOSTRA. Tombstone.  
MAΡ Μαρ-  
ΘΕΙΝΗ θείνη  
ΕΛΕΝΗC Ἑλένης

45.  
BOSTRA. Tombstone.  
ΘΑΜ Θαμάρη.  
ΑΡΗ

The name, Waddington, n. 2147.

46.  
BOSTRA. Tombstone.  
APCINO Ἀρσινόη,  
H  
ΕΤΩΝ ἐτῶν  
ΠΗ πη'.

47.  
BOSTRA. Tombstone.  
D M D(is) M(anibus).  
VLPIA · FLA Vlpia Fla-  
VIX · AN vi[a], an(norum)  
L L.

## 48.

*Um el Jemal.* "From the lintel of a door to a house, shop, or possibly a public building. There are at this place a good many Greek, Latin, and Aramaic inscriptions, besides those which MM. Waddington and de Vogüé have given, and it is a pity that they cannot be carefully collected."

ΚΑΙΟΥΜΟC	Καίουμος.
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΕ <sup>C?</sup>	Κλαυδιανός
ΑΔΕ ⊕ ΛΦΟC	ἀδελφός.

The name *Καίουμος* is new, but *Καίαιμος* occurs in Waddington, n. 2103, and elsewhere. In like manner we have *Καίουνος* and *Καίανος* (Wadd. n. 2089 and 2091).

## 49.

*El Ayin* near Salchad. Less complete in Waddington, n. 1968 a, from copies of Graham and Wetzstein.

ΥΠΕΡCΩΤΗΡΙΑC	ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας
ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΥCΕΒ	Γορδιανοῦ σεβ(αστοῦ)
ΘΑΙΜΟCΑΜΕΡΟΥ	Θαῖμος Ἀμέρον,
ΟΝΟΑΘΟCΑCΑ	Ὀνόαθος Ἀσλ[άμ-
Ο . ΙΟΗΟΑΘΟC . .	ο[υ], Ὀ[υ]άθος
ΑΒΡΙ . Η . . . .	Ἀβρ[άνου] . . .

The last name, Waddington, n. 2053 d.

## 50.

*Suweida.*

ΜΚΟΚΚΗΙΟCΙCΗ . ΙΡ <sup>B?</sup>	Μ(άρκος) Κοκκήϊος . . [Φ]ιρ-
ΜΑΝΟCΟΚΑΙΑΟΥ	μανός ὁ καὶ Ἀου-
ΙΔΟCΤΡΛΕΓΓ	ἰδος, στρ(ατιώτης) λεγ(εῶνος) γ'
ΚΥΡΤΑCΤΡΙCΥΑΛΙΔΑ	Κυρ(ηραϊκῆς), τὰς τρίς ψαλίδας
CCYNKYMATIΩ	ς σὺν κυματίῳ
ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ	ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

What stood after Κοκκήϊος I do not know; perhaps the tribe (ΤΕΡ?). 'Αουίδος is the name which commonly appears as 'Αουείδος (Wadd. n. 2081, etc.).

51.

CANATHA (*Kunawat*). "On the base of a column which is now used as a stand near the door of a house. The lines are perfect on the left, and there did not appear to be many letters wanting on the right."

ΘΕΩΠΑΤΡΟ .	Θεώπατρο-
ΩΜΑΞΙΕ . . . .	ς] Μάξι[μος
ΟΚΑΙΑΝΟ . . . .	ὁ καὶ 'Ανο[ῦν-
Ο-ΟΚΚΙΗ . . .	ος [Μ]οκ[ε]ί[μ]-
ΟΥΤΟΒΟΔ . . .	ου τὸ βό[θρον
ΕΠΟΙΤΤΙ . . .	ἐποί[η]σ[εν] ἐ-
ΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΟ . . .	κ τῶν ἰδι[ῶν].

βόθρον is for βάθρον, by a substitution frequent in inscriptions of Syria. An 'Ανοῦνος Μοκείμου was buried in the neighboring town of Saccaea (*Shakka*), at the age of 25; see Wadd. n. 2153 a.

52.

CANATHA (*Kunawat*). "In the wall of a ruined house. Six lines. Inscription very plain."

ΤΩΝΟΙ	
ΡΟΥΜΟΥ	. . ρου μου . . .
ΜΕΝΤΟ	
ΠΩΞΔΕ	. . πως δε . .
ΚΟΤΕΞ	. . κότες
ΔΙΗΓΕΙ	. . διηγ[ε]ν.

A second copy of Mr. Merrill's gives ΠΟΞΔΕ in the 4th line. Parts of lines, probably of a metrical inscription.

53.

CANATHA (*Kunawat*). "Waddington, No. 2345, has one nearly" [in fact exactly] "like this, except that his has several

more words than mine, and was found in the house of a sheikh. Mine was in an old wall which had to be pulled down to get at the inscription, as only one corner of it appeared. The letters were well made, and I copied all there were on the stone."

ΤΩΒΩΜΩΤΗ  
ΚΥΡΙΑΑΘΗΝΑΓ  
ΟΖΜΑΙΗΕΚΤΩΝ  
ΙΔΙΩΝΜΝΗ  
ΜΗΧΑΡΙΝ.

[ἀφιέρωσεν τ-]  
[ἦν χώραν σὺν]  
τῷ βωμῷ τῇ  
κυρίᾳ Ἀθηνᾷ Γ-  
οῤμαίῃ ἐκ τῶν  
ιδίων μνη-  
μης χάριν.

I doubt, notwithstanding, whether this is not a part of the same stone which Wetzstein and Waddington copied.

## 54.

CANATHA (*Kunawat*).

... ΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΝ

παπ]αὶ τέκνον.

Compare n. 3.

## 55 and 56.

ATHILA (*'Atil*). "There were two beautiful temples at this place, and all the inscriptions found there, or fragments of inscriptions, are finely carved."<sup>1</sup> In the absence of any further record of the character and whereabouts of these two stones, I am uncertain whether they belong together or not; but venture to restore the inscriptions on the supposition that they do. In that case the gap of about two letters marked at the beginning of 56 must be a mistake.

(55)

ΗΡΙΑΛ . . . . .  
ΗΜΩΝ . . . . .  
ΓΟΡΕΚΑΙΕΑΡΟΕ  
..ΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟY  
.....ΤΥΧΟΥΕΕΒ

(56)

.. ΑΕΤΟΥ  
... ΩΝ  
ΕΚΑΙΕΑΡΟΕ

<sup>1</sup> In "East of the Jordan," p. 48, Mr. Merrill speaks of copying, at 'Atil, five Greek inscriptions "not found in Waddington's work"; but there are only two such among the papers which I have.

[ὑπὲρ νίκης καὶ σωτ-]	αστοῦ, [τοῦ κυρίου
η]ρία[ς τοῦ κυρίου	ἡμ]ῶν [Αὐτοκράτορα-
ἡμῶν [Αὐτοκρά-	ς Καίσαρος [Λ. Σεπτ-
τ]ορ[ο]ς Καίσαρος	[μίου Σεουήρου]
Μάρκο]ν Ἀντωνείνου	[νίου . . . .]
εὐσ(εβοῦς) εὐτ]υχοῦς σεβ-	

In honor of Caracalla, after his elevation to imperial rank, but before the death of his father.

## 57.

*Suleim* (SELAEMA). "This word was carved in large letters and stood alone on the face of a block of basalt near the top of the well preserved temple at this place."

HPΩOHC

Ἡρώ[δ]ης.

## 58.

*Reima* (RIMEA). "From the wall of an old house in which much dung had accumulated. There were other fragments in the same place, but it was next to impossible to copy them."

ΥΠΑΤΙΚΤ . . . ΥCΤΟΥΜΙΟ  
ΚΕΟΥΙΡ . . ΟΥΝΕΠΤΟΤΙΑ  
ΕΚΠΤCΘΗ

ὑπατί[α] Τ. [Πο]υστουμίου[ν Τίτιανου  
καὶ Οὐίρ[γ]ι . ί]ου Νεποτία[νου] . . .  
ἐκ[τί]σθη.

The consuls of the year 301 A. D. The full name of the former, T. Flavius Postumius Titianus Varus, has long been known from inscriptions of Rome (CIL. Vol. vi, n. 1416-18). The gentile name of the latter, Virgilius or Virginius, now appears for the first time. For the spelling Πονστούμιος, see CIG. 342.

## 59.

*Reima.*

ΜΑΡΤΕΙΝΟC ΑΝΔΡΟCΥ  
ΙΩΤΑ

I cannot explain what follows Μαρτεῖνος.



## 60.

Reima.

⊕ IX + ΘVC ⊕

## 61.

ZORAVA (*Zora* or *Ezra*). Corp. Inscr. Gr. 4573 c, from an imperfect copy of Buckingham's.

.. ΗΛΟCΚΑΙΖΟΒΑΙΔΟΥC  
 .. ΜΟΥΘΟΥΚΑΙΜΟCΕΙΓΟCΚΟΙ<sup>A?</sup>  
 .. ΑΙΛ<sup>?</sup>CΥΙΟΙΟCΒΑΡΑΧΟΥΚΑΙΚΟΙ<sup>A?</sup>  
 .. ΟCΙ<sup>Γ?A?A?</sup> \ ΒΑΡΟΥΚΑΙΙΑΒΝΗΛΟΙΑΒΓΑ  
 .. ΑΝΕΝΤΩ<sup>N?</sup>ΗΙΔΙΩΝ

The only points at which Buckingham's copy seems more correct than this, are in line 4, ΙΑΒΝΗΛΟC, and at the beginning of line 5, CAN.

.. ηλος και Ζοβάιδος υ[ιοί  
 .. μούθου και Μόσειγος και  
 .. αί[α]ς υιοί 'Οσβαράχου και Καί-  
 αμ]ος Γαβάρου και 'Ιάβνηλος 'Αβγά-  
 ρου ἔκτι]σαν ἐ[κ] τῶν ιδίων.

Μόσειγος, 'Οσβαράχος, Γάβαρος and 'Ιάβνηλος are names not found elsewhere. The last three are confirmed by Buckingham's readings.

## 62.

ZORAVA. A fragment. Buckingham's utterly unintelligible copy is in the CIG., n. 4573 d.

ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΕ	Πατρίκις
ΑΜΜΡΙΛΙΟΥ	'Αμμριλίου
ΕΠΛΑΚΩ	ἐπλάκω-
CΕΙΤΠΔΛ <sup>Δ?</sup>	σε[ν] τ[δ] . . .

Πατρίκις is for Πατρίκιος. With 'Αμμριλίου compare 'Ιάμμιλιχος, Wadd. n. 2210 a. The more usual form is 'Αμβρίλιος. The verb

πλακῶσαι means to cover the brick-work of buildings with marble slabs; see CIG. 4283, 8641, 8662, Wadd. n. 1984 b.

63.

ZORAVA. A fragment.

ΕΠΑΛΚΩCΕΝ

ἐπ[λά]κωσεν.

64.

ZORAVA. Two fragments. That they originally belonged together, and were on the lintel of a door, is seen from the copies in CIG. 4565, and Waddington, n. 2491. Both Franz and Waddington, however, restored the inscription as an epitaph.

a.

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧ  
ΗΕΝΤΥΧΩC

ἀγαθῇ τύχ-  
ῃ, εὐτυχῶς.

b.

ΚΑΙCVI  
ΠΛ . . . .

Καί[ο]υ[μος ἐ-  
πλ[ά]κωσεν.

The name Καίουμος is in n. 48.

65.

*Rukleh.* "Badly worn." Another copy, by C. Warren, is printed in the Quarterly Statement of the Pal. Expl. Fund, 1869, p. 329. The stone, according to Warren, is "lying in the lower temple." I put the two copies side by side.

*Merrill.*

ΧΙΟΡΟΤΑΙΝΩΝΟ  
ΔΟΩΗCΑΝΤΟ  
ΝΟΝΚCΤΟΥCΤΡ  
ΑCΥΝΤΗΟΥΡ

*Warren.*

ΧΙΟΙ ΙΟΠΔΡΟΤΑΩΩΝΟΗ  
ΔΟΜΙCΑΝΤΟΘ  
ΝΟΝΚCΤΟΥCΤΡCΚ  
ΑCΥΝΤΝCΥΡΑ

. . . ι[ε]ροτα[μίαι] φ[κ]ο-  
δόμησαν τὸ θ[εμέ-]  
λιον κ[ε] τοὺς προβλητ-  
ας σὺν τῇ [θ]ύρ[α].

Προβλήτες = 'buttresses,' or 'pilasters'? I hardly know what, but feel pretty sure of the word.

66.

*Rukleh.* "Badly worn."

Ο ΠΑCCNXΩΝ  
 ΤΡΙΩNCYNΔΥCΙ  
 ΙΟΝΧΑΙΟΕΚ  
 ΤΩΝTHCΘΡΟΥ  
 ΔΙΑΘΥΔΑΙΕ  
 ΡΕΟC

[. . . συγκ-]  
 οπὰς [ἐλίκ]ων  
 τριῶν σὺν δυσι  
 [κ]όνχαι[s], ἐκ  
 τῶν. τῆς θ[ε]οῦ,  
 διὰ θ[ε]υδᾶ ἱε-  
 ρέος.

Συγκοπαί = 'tessellated work'; in the plural, Theophanes Continuatus (Bonn, 1839), p. 145, 11. The ἐλικες are vaulted ceilings;<sup>1</sup> κόγκαι are 'niches.' For ἱερός see on n. 8.

FREDERIC D. ALLEN.

<sup>1</sup> This meaning of ἐλεξ, without citation, has been in our Greek dictionaries since Schneider's, who says "die späteren gebrauchen es für Gewölbe," but gives no authority. I cannot find, at present, any example of this use, nor the source of Schneider's statement.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Keltische Studien, von HEINRICH ZIMMER. Zweites Heft: Ueber altirische Betonung und Verskunst. Berlin, Weidmann, 1884. Pp. viii, 209.

The subject of Zimmer's latest essay is so abstruse and so complicated that one can scarcely hope to do it justice in a review. It is bestowing upon the author but scant praise to say that he is the first to deduce the general principles underlying Old-Irish accentuation, and to apply them with rigorous exactness to all the puzzling phenomena of a language that has hitherto seemed little else than a tissue of puzzles.

That part of the essay, pp. 8-27, which treats of the accentuation of the *nomen* and its compounds is the easiest to understand, and offers also less novelty. The general rule is that the accent falls on the first syllable. This accented syllable preserves intact the quality and the quantity of its vowel sound. So strong is the forward tendency that it has overcome foreign accent, e. g. in the loan-words *plécad* (from *peccatum*), *dpstal* (*apostolus*), *ddrad* (*adoratio*). In reading such instances I am reminded of the medieval German forms *Bérn* (= *Veröna*), *Räben* (= *Ravenna*). All syllables following the accent are *tieftönig*; the one immediately following is the weakest. This weakest syllable, if ultimate, reduces its vowel to an "irrational," the color of which is determined by the timbre of the following consonant. If penultimate, the vowel is slurred altogether. The only limit to slurring is the impossibility of pronouncing certain consonant combinations. Thus, from *\*carant* we get in Irish: nom. s. *cára*, gen. *cárat*, dat. *cárit*. The *a* and the *i* indicate the timbre of the following *t*. In dat. pl. we get *cártib*, where it will be observed that the syllable between *r* and *t* has been suppressed. Whereas in the gen. of *cótlud*, "somnus" [from *\*cón-talat(us)*] we find *cótlutta*, the irrational *u* easing an unpronounceable *cólla*. In compounds (whether prefix + noun, adj. + noun, or noun + noun), the accent is likewise on the first syllable. There are some exceptions apparently, but more in appearance than in reality. In Irish, as in other languages, syntactic feeling must help us to perceive where two words are used as a true compound and where they are used as distinct words. Thus, every modern Irishman knows in a moment the difference between *seánbhean* (pron. *shánnvön*), *Altmutter* = grandmother, and *seán bhéan bhócht* (pron. distinctly as three words, *shánn vónn vócht*), poor old mother = Ireland, the well-known watchword. Accent, we have seen, preserves vowel quality and quantity. But it has just the opposite effect upon consonants, especially those in *Anlaut*. Thus, the compound verb *ad + cobraim* is accented (in orthotonesis) *adcóbraim*, whereas the same compound, used as a verbal noun (infinitive), takes the accent on *ad* and becomes, through *\*adcobor*, *decobor*; *do + fo + ro + mag* becomes *tórmach*, i. e. the aspirated *f = h* disappears altogether and the explosiveness of the accent has "unvoiced" the *d* to *t*; *ō = o + o*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This unvoicing of consonants is not restricted to compounds proper. Zimmer has elsewhere noted the fact that in Connaught to-day *do áthair*, "tuus pater," is pronounced *táthair*.

Mention of the infinitive naturally leads to the *verbum finitum*. To this falls of right the lion's share of the essay, pp. 28-134. Most of the data were already gathered by Zeuss, Ebel, Windisch, Stokes, Ascoli, etc. But not a few are the fruit of Zimmer's own reading, others again are corrections of the misreadings of his predecessors. And wholly his own is the flood of new light thrown upon what until now has been literally a chaos, namely, the rationale of Irish verbal accent. Why, *e. g.* does the Würzburg Codex give us *ní éþéer sôn*, "non dicam hoc," and in another place *attā im. asbēer*, "dicam autem certe"? Both *éþéer* and *asbēer* are future flexion of *as* + *berim*, and both = *dicam*. Could anything appear more arbitrary? Why in the same tense- and person-form should the accent shift from verb to prefix, as if one were in Latin free to say "addúcam" or \*"éccam," I shall lead? Zimmer has, at all events, shown that Irish is not arbitrary. He has shown that the accent of the Irish (compound) verb varies according to its position in the sentence. We are dealing with a syntactic peculiarity which finds its parallel in Vedic and, in some scattered remains, in Greek, namely, in certain situations the verb loses its accent, which is then transferred to the prefix (preposition). The conditions of this transference and its *modus operandi* are different in Vedic and in Irish, but the underlying thought, so to speak, is the same. Zimmer, retaining the convenient terms orthotonesis and enclisis to designate this alternating accent, lays down the rule that the Irish *verbum finitum* is enclitic, *i. e.* accents the prefix, in the imperative mood, or after certain conjunctions (mostly *ní*, "non," and its compounds), or after the interrogative particle *in*, "an," or in a relative sentence where the relative adverb is dependent on a preposition. In all other positions the verb is orthotonic, *i. e.* the accent falls on the verb if there is only one prefix; if there are two prefixes, it falls on the second; at all events, on the second syllable of the compound. Returning to the phrases above quoted, we can now understand why the Irishman who glossed the Würzburg Codex had to render the "non dicam" by *ní éþéer* (for *ní ésbéer*), whereas he rendered the "autem certe dicam" by *as-béer*. The Irish for "autem" does not produce enclisis.

The general principle, it will be observed, is not difficult to grasp when once formulated. But how many possess the instinct to divine such a principle under a tangle of stems, moods, tenses and persons, and the patience to verify it in every doubtful case? The Irish verb appears to me to stand between the Greek and the Latin in richness of flexion. If the reader wishes to estimate the arduousness of Zimmer's task, he need only imagine himself undertaking to account for a Latin conjugation-system that could change "addúcam" to "éccam" in all negative and thirty per cent. of the dependent sentences. Thus, Zimmer has treated *exhaustively* for Old Irish the enclisis and orthotonesis of certain of the more usual verbs, *e. g.* *adber-*, *esber-* (411 citations). His examination of \**de-lek* proves, see p. 44, that what previous grammarians, Windisch included, took to be two separate verbs, *doluigim*, *dilegim*, are in fact merely orthotonic and enclitic forms of the same verb!

In Munster parlance, Irish is "God's own speech." The beginner is not slow to discover the point of the proverb. And after he has struggled through paradigms and phonetic changes and all the idiomatic twists of a language that has no "have," but is forced to denote possession by "being," there comes



the climax of the pronouns. Truly *ein böses Capitel!* The subject-pronoun is easy enough. As in Latin, it is usually dispensed with. But the object-pronoun = Latin *me, mihi, te, tibi, nos, nobis, vos, vobis, eum, eam, id, eis, eos, etc.*, is usually treated in so peculiar a way that one has to be a trained Keltist to even pick it out of a conglomerate of letters. Usually the object-pronoun of the first person is *m*, plural *n*; of the second person *t, b*; of the third person (almost promiscuous, I might say) *d, a, n, sn* (= *an, son*). These mere letters are appended to prepositions (*pronomén suffixum*), or infixes between prefix and verb. In the former case we get a dependent clause with enclisis (see *supra*); in the latter, the so-called *pronomén infixum*. Thus *dianéper* = "de quo dicit" (the relative *an* dependent on preposition *di*, and *es-ber* made enclitic); on the other hand, *donádbad* = "demonstrat eam," the verb being *do-dábad* and *n* being infix. These two examples are the simplest that can be selected from Zimmer's collection. Less easy of recognition are such forms as *atbéir*, "dicit id," where *at* = *ad* (prefix) + *d* (infix); *corofútuinsi* = "proligit vos," where the verb is *col* (= *con*)-*do-útuinsi*, and *f* (= *b*) is infix of the second person. These pronominal peculiarities have been known and much discussed ever since the appearance of the *Grammatica Celtica* of Zeuss. But Zimmer is the first, to my knowledge, to trace their connection with accent. His rule, p. 119, is: The infixes are always put just before the accented syllable. That is, if the verb is orthotonic, just after the first prefix. If the verb is enclitic, after the particle producing enclisis. Hence *dodbéir*, "dat id," but *nídbur* (= *ní-d-tábur*), "non do id." Thus the *infixum* will often be of service in determining the position of the accent when other tests are doubtful. The formulation of the rule is more precise in the summary at p. 119 than in the discussion proper, pp. 57-64. It is evident that Zimmer's formula and his restriction of the *pronomén suffixum* to its proper limits (showing that in many instances it is really an infix) necessitate a complete rewriting of this part of all existing Irish grammars. One has only to cast a glance at the hopelessly confused §§202, 203 in Windisch to perceive the difference between the old and the new.

More ingenious, if possible, than the treatment of pronouns is Zimmer's bold attempt to apply his accent rules in ascertaining the nature of Old-Irish metre, pp. 155-186. The test poem is the well-known hymn to St. Patrick, usually attributed to Fiacc Sleibte. According to Zimmer the metrical scheme must be:

u' | u' | u' | u' | u' | u' | u' | u' |

Thus the first long line (couplet) is to be scanned:

Genáir patráioc in ném thúr  
iséd atfé hiscélaib, etc.

The verse-flow corresponds to that which is so common in the Arthurian epics of Mittelhochdeutsch, e.g. Iwein, 3:

dem vólget sælde und ére,

except that the Irish is not so tolerant of omitting the *Senkung*. Zimmer's scheme appears to me to meet every equitable requirement. But against his

*ultima ratio* I for one must raise a protest. Zimmer calls this metre, p. 162, *ein altindogermanisches Erbstück*, connecting it organically with the Veda and Avesta strophe, the Latin Saturnian, the German Langzeile. Will no one exorcise forever this *Spuk* of an Indo-Germanic metre? The present is, of course, no place for a discussion of the much-vexed *Vierhebungen*. But this much at least I can say *en passant*. The argument of similarity proves, if anything, too much. Granting that Old-Irish, Old-Teutonic metre resembles the Avesta and the Saturnian, what are we to infer? That Irish, German, Avesta metres are *cognates*, like "athir, father, pitra"? Scarcely. Can we imagine any metrical system surviving after such a radical accent-revolution as the Irish above discussed? I admit freely that Irish-German metre resembles Saturnian, but I contend that the likeness is one of *borrowing*, not one of descent. I believe firmly that all four-beat measures in mediæval poetry, in whatever modern language, are nothing more than direct imitation of Latin hymnody, and that this Latin hymnody is at bottom a popular resuscitation of the Saturnian. Whoever can read Caedmon's poem to the Creator (Beda tells us almost in so many words that it was *volksmässig* and not *gelehrt*) and get four beats out of "nu scylun hergan," or "eci dryctin," or "aefter tiadae," can get four beats out of everything that has four syllables. Let us open our eyes to the patent fact that the *volksmässige* poetry of our Teutonic ancestors had two beats, with a very free treatment of *Auftact* and *Senkung*, that the *gelehrte* poetry imitated the four-beats of Latin hymnody, and that the history of Anglo-Saxon or Old German poetry is little more than a history of the absorption of the former in the latter.

Again, Zimmer's attempt to connect Irish accent-revolution with the adoption of Christianity seems to me far-fetched and fanciful. May I venture to apply the phrase that he himself has suggested in the preface: *es riecht nach der Lampe?*

The only gleaning of direct value for Germanists that I have made in the essay is the identification, p. 200, of *Lid-* in *Lidwicingum* (Widsið<sup>80</sup>) with *Lit-* in *Litavia*, the old Kelto-Latin name for Brittany. Grein, Glossary, II 790, naturally mistakes *lid-* for the Germanic word for "ship." I can corroborate Zimmer's identification by the following passage from the Parker Chronicle, sub anno 885, where it is stated that Charles (the Fat) succeeded to all the lands of his great-grandfather (Charlemagne) *butan Lidwiccium*, Earle, p. 84.

The Excursus, p. 200-208, deals with an interesting point in the *Parzival*-sage. In Crestien, Wolfram, and the Welsh *Mabinogi* of *Peredur*, there occurs the same episode of the hero comparing the black of his mistress's hair, the whiteness of her skin, the rose of her complexion, to the black, red and white of a raven feeding upon a goose that lies bleeding in the snow. Zimmer connects the episode with that of *Nöisi* and *Deirdre* in the story of the Children of *Uisnech*. In Irish the episode is evidently original, and Irish legend thus throws some light upon what must have been the common source of Crestien and the *Mabinogi*.

Repeated study of Zimmer's essay has only quickened in me the wish for the speedy appearance of his promised Old-Irish Dictionary. He alone is capable of producing such a work. May he not delay too long! And especially may he accompany it with a grammar that will really explain things. Windisch's grammar spreads only too often darkness rather than light.

J. M. HART.

An Old English Grammar, by EDUARD SIEVERS, Ph. D., Professor of Germanic Philology in the University of Tübingen. Translated and Edited by ALBERT S. COOK, Ph. D., Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of California. Boston, Ginn, Heath & Co. 1885. Pp. xvi, 235.

The well recognized merit of Sievers' unrivalled *Angelsächsische Grammatik* created an imperative demand for an English version. That this demand would be met was inevitable; *how* it would be met was doubtful. Delay and apprehension are now happily removed by the appearance of the volume before us.

The task of putting this work into English form must not be underrated. For those less familiar with the original, who may be inclined to look upon the performance as a mere translation, it is well to state that such is not the case, and that it is due to both author and translator that their respective responsibility in this volume be rightly understood. Prof. Cook has correctly named himself "translator and editor," and has defined his position clearly and briefly in a preface. We are told that there has been some "unimportant redistribution of matter," and that the original has been modified by "excisions, additions, changes in terminology, and changes in accent." From this it is clear that something essentially different from a mere translation has been aimed at. What this aim has been, and to what extent a desirable result has been attained, may be here briefly inquired into.

The characteristic feature of Sievers' work is its independence of preceding Anglo-Saxon grammars, and its dependence upon the most authentic documents of the earliest periods of the language, discriminated as to age and dialect. The mass of its material is taken at first hand, and ordered according to the latest doctrine of grammatical science. It follows that such an attempt at building up a grammar *de novo* must be a gradual process. A resifting of the material already at hand, and the publication of additional sources, will constantly lead to modifications and extensions of the first sketch. Such has been the history of Sievers' grammar. Since its publication, three years ago, important contributions to the subject have been gathered from sources old and new. Chief among these contributors stands Sievers himself, who published a large body of supplementary matter (Beiträge IX, 197-300) arranged according to the sections of the grammar, so that it has since been necessary, in using the original work, to have constant regard to this supplement. The necessary incorporation of this supplement, together with the *Nachträge und Berichtigungen* appended to the original, imposed a special responsibility upon the translator. The American public is to be congratulated that the work has fallen into efficient hands. Former instruction by the author himself, and complete sympathy with the method by which this grammar has been constructed, combined with the literary aptitude required in the labor of translation, constitute the peculiar fitness of Prof. Cook for the task he has so well performed.

Upon closer scrutiny it will be seen that Prof. Cook's leading purpose has been to supply to our institutions of learning a serviceable text-book; and to his doctrine of what rightly constitutes such a manual must be referred the

liberties he has taken with his original. To this end the requirements of a perspicuous and idiomatic style, and of a clear and consistent terminology, have been well met. Language and idiom, which translators often separate, are Englished intact, so that the book may be read with the comfort of security against barbarisms; while its practical and general use is favored by a discriminating and conservative nomenclature in the somewhat new treatment of facts.

It is, however, especially in externals that pertain to the printer's art that the design of the practical teacher is apparent. In the distribution of the matter and the variety of the type, such an improvement of the original is effected as might in itself almost justify the new version. Aside from the editorial skill here displayed, it is fitting to observe that this volume brings the welcome evidence of possessing in America the means for printing Anglo-Saxon textbooks in excellent form.

To those interested in the more exact details of this department of study, the editor's treatment of the contributory matter, embraced chiefly in the *Miscellen*, may occasion a slight degree of disappointment. The words of the editor upon this point, "So much of this store as promised to render the Grammar more serviceable has been incorporated into its pages," are explicit enough in the light of the practical design of the new version, but it may be contended that a wider application than is here implied of the term "serviceable," does not lie so remote from the needs of students of Anglo-Saxon in this country.

At a time when a new interest is abroad in all that relates to a remodelling of English studies, the republication of so important a work as Sievers' grammar could have been made to serve a large purpose somewhat better than Prof. Cook has planned in his version. The retention and extension of references to the grammatical literature, which need not have increased the limits of the book by more than a page or two, and the appropriation of more of the illustrative material, especially of that which pertains to "exceptions," would have greatly increased the value of the book for more advanced purposes. It must be borne in mind that the grammatical knowledge of our Early English idiom is yet in its formative state. However welcome dogmatic statements may be to the beginner, he can not advance far before many of the simple rules give way to more or less open discussions, in which facts and theories must be carefully considered. To eliminate too much of this element of discussion, while contributing to certain immediate ends, must just as surely operate against others of equal and of ultimately greater importance. Thus, by a too rigid process of simplification and exclusion in dealing with the *Miscellen*, the grammar has also necessarily become a less complete epitome of the language.

A simple illustration of what is meant may be given. In *Beiträge* IX, p. 260, Sievers has given varieties of the *gen. pl.* of the weak adjective declension. Prof. Cook in inserting them (§304, note 1) has omitted the *mixed* forms, *ǣre hǫligrana*, *ǣre hǫligran*. In further confirmation of such *mixed* forms I would here call attention to an unrecorded type in which the elements are arranged in the reverse order. *Bath.* (Fox) p. 10, l. 6, "þæt is þæt þú eart án þára rihtwisenra and þára rihtwillendra;" (cf. l. 21, þára unrihtwísra).—A phrase like "oder anlehnung an *stȝor*" (*Beiträge* IX, p. 211, §100) has an indirect value bearing upon method, which more than warrants a conjectural

explanation; pára (cf. *underðíedan* : *underðéodan*, [subs. *ðéod*]). Less simple and more important instances of undue contraction will be readily discovered by any one making the comparison.

These restrictions are not intended to withdraw the attention from the practical service, already emphasized, which Prof. Cook has here rendered the department of English studies. However far this version of the grammar may be considered to fall short of what a similar revision by the author would have made it, we have yet to thank Prof. Cook for a considerable amount of editorial work, conscientiously performed, by which the usefulness of the book is greatly increased beyond a mere translation which another might have forced upon us.

Deserving of notice, moreover, is the care with which Prof. Cook has corrected many erroneous cross-references; his amplification of the Index; and his excellent modification of the system of accentuation.

In conclusion we need hardly add that the work is worthy of general acceptance. Our college classes are its proper sphere, where, if rightly employed, it will surely exert a strong influence in favor of sound scholarship in English.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

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*Evangeliorum Versio Antehieronymiana ex codice Usseriano (Dublinensi), adjecta collatione codicis Usseriani alterius. Accedit versio vulgata sec. cod. Amiatinum cum varietate cod. Kenanensis (Book of Kells) et cod. Durmachensis (Book of Durrow). Edidit et Praefatus est T. K. ABBOTT, S. T. B. Dublin, 1884.*

The work of collating the old Latin MSS of the Gospels and the early Vulgate texts, to which we drew attention some time since in a review of Wordsworth's edition of the S. Germain MS of Matthew, is progressing rapidly. The two volumes before us present us with the complete text of an important old-Latin or non-Vulgate copy of the Gospels (formerly in the possession of Abp. Usher) preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, together with a re-issue of the text of the Codex Amiatinus, which has been selected by Dr. Wordsworth as the standard of reference for the future edition of the Vulgate, and three complete collations of the texts contained in the Book of Kells, the Book of Durrow, and another MS in Trinity College Library to which the title is given of *Usserianus secundus*. The whole of this work proceeds from a hand well known to all textual critics; to Dr. Abbott we are indebted for the best reproduction ever made of the text of the Greek Uncial Z of the New Testament, and for his researches with Professor Ferrar into the text of the lost uncial which lies at the back of four important cursive copies of the Gospels. Dublin University maintains a record in Biblical scholarship that is parallel to the calligraphy of the early Irish monks; and it is matter of gratitude on the part of all New Testament scholars that the surviving treasures of those early lights of Western Europe, the Irish monasteries, are being so ably handled.

The texts are edited in the following order. The preface of the editor begins with a description of the principal text, to which he has attached the name of Usher; (we cannot but regret that in christening his copies Dr. Abbott has made the mistake of giving the same name to two of his MSS and



distinguishing them by an attached numeral. One would have thought the Latin MSS of the New Testament showed enough instances of this irritating superscript, ascript or subscript numeral.<sup>1</sup> We notice also that while the library mark (A. 4, 15) is given to Uss<sub>1</sub>, none is apparent for Uss<sub>2</sub>. This is unfortunate: and it would have been well if a critical letter had been assigned to these copies, or at least to the principal one.)

The first Usher MS has suffered much from age, fire and water, so that the margins of every page are much eaten into and the exact size of the original document cannot be determined. Dr. Abbott refers the semi-uncial Irish writing to the sixth century. The Gospels are given in the Western order, Matt., Joh., Luc., Marc. At the close of the Gospel of John is an interesting interpretation of Hebrew and supposed Hebrew words. A selection of the more important various readings is given with documentary support of important texts. This is an excellent plan and assists much to a rapid estimate of the character of the text.

The second Usher MS is then described, which has an early Latin text in the Gospel of Matthew and a mixed text in the latter part of Luke; the rest is Vulgate. A brief account is then given of the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells, both of which are monumental in the history of Irish paleography; the latter has been referred (probably without sufficient reason) to the hand and pen of Columba himself. Abbott thinks that the scribe of the Book of Kells may have had the Book of Durrow in his hands. Specimens are given of the principal readings of both these great MSS, and the table of titles of the various chapters is also carefully reproduced. The preface closes with a list of *corrigenda* to be applied to the following texts; this must itself be corrected as follows:

- p. 276, line 8, *a fine*, etc.
- p. 508, line 9, *a fine*, etc.
- p. 520, line 3, *a fine*, etc.
- p. 642, line 2, *a fine*, etc.

The text of the Gospels is then given, the Usher MS occupying the right hand page, and the Codex Amiatinus the left hand of the open book, and the readings of Durrow and Kells being given at the foot.

It is unfortunate that the text of the Cod. Amiatinus is not reproduced with sufficient accuracy to be taken as a standard, without reference to the volumes of Tischendorf and Tregelles. We have noted quite a number of divergent spellings and various readings in the Gospel of Mark. It is important that attention should be drawn to the occasional discrepancies between other published texts and that of Dr. Abbott, seeing that the text of the Amiatinus is to be made the basis of future collations.

If we wanted a clear idea of the progress which is being made with the study of Latin Biblical texts we might look at the foot-note to Westwood's description of the Book of Kells in his *Paleographia Sacra*. He calls attention to the importance of a careful collation of the various ancient MSS written in Ireland,

<sup>1</sup> There is another reason against the use of the notation Usser<sup>2</sup>: this is the name given by Mill to an important Greek MS formerly in the possession of Trinity College Library and now belonging to the Marquis of Bute. See Scrivener, *Introd.* ed. iii, addenda p. xv.

'as I have no doubt that some important results would be thereby attained.' Amongst the copies to which he alludes as of Irish origin (whether rightly or wrongly matters not) are the following: the Gospels of Mac-Regol and MacDurnan, the book of St. Chad, the Gospels of Luke and John in Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge, portions of the Royal MS 2 A 20 in the British Museum, the Duke of Buckingham's Gospel of John, the Gospels of S. Germain des Prés No. 108, the Gospels of the Bibliothèque du Roi Lat. 693, the Gospels of S. Gatien at Tours, of S. Boniface at Fulda, besides the Ancient Gospels at Dublin and several at St. Gall. Of these more than half may be reckoned as either collated or actually printed.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

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Dionysii Thracis Ars Grammatica qualem exemplaria vetustissima exhibent subscriptis discrepantiis et testimoniis quae in codicibus recentioribus scholiis erotematis apud alios scriptores interpretem Armenium reperiuntur edidit GUSTAVUS UHLIG. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 322 pp. Price 8 m.

A school-book with a record of thirteen to fourteen centuries of continuous popular favor is a rarity in the history of pedagogics. The little *Tέχνη* of Dionysios Thrax, prepared in the second century before Christ, maintained its place as the "standard" handbook of Greek grammar—the terror of lazy boys and the joy of learned pedagogues, down into the twelfth century of our reckoning. Around its crisp, succinct statements and rules clustered themselves gradually with the lapse of time masses of learned annotation both expository and supplemental, which are handed down to us partly in the form of continuous commentaries like those of Heliodoros and Melampus, partly as collections of scholia. A large number of appendices or supplements attached themselves from time to time to the original work, and are handed down with it in the manuscripts; the four oldest of these, *Περὶ προσφιδῶν*, *Περὶ τέχνης*, *Περὶ ποδῶν*, and full inflectional tables of the verb *τύπτω* (which latter flavor strongly of the ancient schoolroom), are edited by Uhlig in the book before us. The others he promises for a later day.

In the fifth century the *Tέχνη* was translated into Armenian, and forced to do the duty of a grammar for that language, a position which it maintained through ten centuries. A little later, perhaps in the sixth century, it was turned to a similar use for the Syriac.

In the Greek-speaking world it maintained its undisputed place at least until the twelfth century, when, in accordance with some new educational fashion, it was wrought over into the form of a catechism (*Ερωτήματα*), which afterwards appeared in various modifications under various names, as of Moschopulos, Neilos and others. These catechisms formed in their turn the basis of the grammatical treatises of those Greek scholars who brought the Greek learning of the renaissance to Italy—Chrysoloras, Gaza, Lascaris, Chalcondyles.

To the work of restoring the original form of the *Tέχνη*, Professor Uhlig has brought not only a rare capacity, but also a rare enthusiasm. One can, for instance, scarcely accuse him of *underestimating* the importance of his subject, when he declares (Proleg. p. vi) that in the whole realm of profane literature there is no book whose influence has been so great ("qui tantos

habuerit effectus"). He has spared himself no pains in collecting and dealing with the unusually numerous sources of the text. The *Tέχνη* is handed down to us in nine different manuscripts, in seven of them entire. Hitherto it has been known to us chiefly through the edition of Fabricius in the seventh volume of his *Bibliotheca Graeca* (1715), which was based solely on the Hamburg and Paris manuscripts; and through Bekker's edition in the second volume of the *Anecdota* (1816), which took cognizance further of the Venetian and Vatican manuscripts. It remained for the industry and insight of Uhlig to bring into honor three superior manuscript sources; the present edition presents the reading of Codex Monacensis (9th century) supplemented by that of its particularly accurate copy, the Leidensis (11th century). Furthermore the Grotta-ferratensis (from the monastery Grotta Ferrata) has been found, though belonging to the inferior manuscript-family, to represent an older type than the other known MSS of the same family, Vaticanus, Hamburgensis, Parisinus. Uhlig's first account of his discovery is contained in his paper "Ueber zwei alte Handschriften der griechischen Grammatiker und über die nothwendigen Bestandtheile eines Corpus grammaticorum graecorum," in the *Verhandlungen der 34 Philologenversammlung zu Trier*.

The second class of sources is composed of the Armenian and Syriac translations. In the fifth century an Armenian grammar was prepared by an unknown hand on the novel plan of filling out a literal translation of Dionysios' *Tέχνη* with Armenian examples. It is an eminent service of Prof. Merx that he has called attention to the slavishly verbal accuracy of the rendering, and has so made the translation, which takes us back presumably to a text of the fourth century, available for critical purposes (vid. *Disput.* p. lxiii seqq.). The closeness with which the translator followed his Greek original in the rendering of the technical terms and in replacing the Greek with Armenian examples led to some most astounding acts of violence against the tongue whose interests the translation was expected to subserve; for instance, the Armenian possesses neither definite article, distinction of genders nor the dual number, and yet it was forced to furnish representatives for the Greek duals *τῶ, τά*. The Armenian readings, so far as they have bearing upon the reconstruction of the text, are given among the critical material on the several pages. The Syriac translation, belonging to the fifth or sixth century and exhibiting in the main the same relations to the Greek original as the Armenian, was discovered some five years since by Merx in two MSS of the British Museum, and it is to be shortly published by him in full. Uhlig has made use of its readings only among the *Addenda et Corrigenda* (pp. lxxxiii-c).

A concise, clear statement of the value of these two translations for the restoration of the text is to be found, together with other interesting matter, in Uhlig's contribution to the *Heidelberger Festschrift zur 36 Philologenversammlung (Karlsruhe): Zur Wiederherstellung des ältesten occidentalischen Compendiums der Grammatik* (cf. pp. 66-72).

The most difficult part of Uhlig's task, and at the same time that part whose results are most available for the use of the average philologist, is that which deals with the masses of ancient annotative material; this material appears in a variety of forms and belongs to different periods; some portions

have been themselves subject of learned commentary, and have worked themselves in the subtlest way through the entire Byzantine grammatical literature. Here Uhlig shows a master-hand, and the student of the grammarians finds in the second division of his critical notes ("Discrepantiae et testimonia scholiorum erotematum aliorum scriptorum") a perfect storehouse of valuable material, which is made accessible in every nook and corner by the admirable indices.

A recent addition to the number of the continuous commentaries to Dionysios is the late-Byzantine Interpretatio, edited at the instance of Uhlig by his former pupil Hilgard, in a Programme of the Heidelberg Gymnasium for the year 1880.

Prof. Uhlig has also taken to heart the admonition "By their fruits ye shall know them," and has made a most diligent study of the grammatical text-books—Byzantine and Italian—which succeeded the *Tέχνη*. An idea of the extensiveness of the material involved, as well as of the admirable spirit in which Uhlig has approached the work, may be obtained from his "Appendix artis Dionysii Thracis" (Beilage zum Jahresbericht d. Heidelb. Gymnas. 1880-81). The comparative tables appended to this paper constitute an invaluable contribution to the history of grammatical terminology. A supplement to the Mannheim Gymnasialprogramm of 1879-80 (*Erotemata grammatica ex arte Dionysiana oriunda. Maximam partem nunc primum edidit Petrus Egenolff*) arranges in most convenient form the texts of the four catechisms under the respective paragraphs of the *Tέχνη* from which they took their origin.

In its externals Uhlig's book is an admirable specimen of what the Teubner press is capable of doing. Misprints have as yet escaped my eye. The indices cannot be too highly praised; they form almost a dictionary of the *termini technici* of Greek and Latin grammar. The Greek index is the work of Gymnasiallehrer C. Pfaff, the Latin of Uhlig himself, assisted by his pupil L. Sütterlin. Appended to the book are two photo-lithographic plates, representing each one page respectively of the Codex Monacensis and the Codex Leidensis.

The first step toward the restoration of Dionysios' *Tέχνη* has thus been taken; but only the first step. The book before us makes no attempt at emendation, it reproduces simply the text of the Munich and Leyden MSS with the "Discrepantiae" of the other MSS, as well as of Fabricius and Bekker. For the second part of the work we have probably some time (perhaps two years) to wait, but, as an assurance of Prof. Uhlig's purpose to complete it, it is a pleasure to learn that at least one half of the matter is already in manuscript, and that the Teubners have announced the book. Concerning the strict and somewhat radical method of restoration which it is proposed to follow we have already received information in Uhlig's paper "Zur Wiederherstellung des ältesten Compendiums," etc.

The reviews of the present edition which, so far as I know, have thus far appeared are the following: W. Ihne, Academy, Sept. 20, 1884, p. 187. F. Blass, Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen, October 1, 1884, S. 806-808. Ernst Maass, Deutsche Literaturzeitung, N. 43 (1884), S. 1579. R. Schneider, Berliner philol. Wochenschrift, Dec. 13, 1884, S. 1566-1571. L. Cohn, Berliner philol. Wochenschrift, Jan. 24, 1885, S. 99-104.

BENJ. I. WHEELER.

Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature. Number IV. A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians, with a linguistic, historic, and ethnographic introduction, by ALBERT S. GATSCHET, of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C. Volume I. Philadelphia: D. G. Brinton, 1884.

Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature. Number V. The Lenapé and their Legends; with the complete text and symbols of the Walam Olum, a new translation, and an inquiry into its authenticity. By DANIEL G. BRINTON, A. M., M. D., Professor of Ethnology and Archaeology at the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: D. G. Brinton, 1885.

Mr. Gatschet's book is devoted to the early history and traditions of the tribes that inhabited the watershed of the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico, especially the Maskoki family, the most important member of which was the Creek Nation (so called, according to our author, because it was necessary to cross creeks in order to reach them). The first part treats of the ethnic and linguistic groups of this region, the second part of the Kasi'hta form of the migration-legend. A second volume is to give the Hitchiti version, the notes and vocabulary. Mr. Gatschet has put into convenient shape a good deal of information respecting these tribes, and seems to have proceeded cautiously in the use of his authorities. He leaves undecided the question whether the Creeks crossed the Mississippi going eastward in their migration. His remarks on the mythology, though brief, are judicious; the "Master of Life," he says, "was only the centre of an animistic system of religious belief which was far from being monotheistic." The linguistic remarks also are brief. The author thinks that the parent Maskoki language cannot now be reconstructed; at most a comparative grammar of the existing dialects might be written, and he points out what these dialects have in common, so far as can be made out from published accounts. "Although," says he, "Maskoki speech, taken as a whole, belongs to the agglutinative type of languages, some forms of it, especially the predicative inflection of the verb and the vocalic changes in the radicals, strongly remind us of the inflective languages." The interesting statement is made that the Hitchiti have an ancient female dialect, which was formerly the language of the males also; how the women came to retain the older form is not explained. The naïve migration-legend, narrated by a chief at Savannah in 1735, can hardly be understood till the other form of it, with notes and vocabulary, is given us in the second volume.

After a general description of the widely distributed Algonkin stock, whose traditions, he inclines to think, point to Hudson's bay and the coast of Labrador, Dr. Brinton undertakes a detailed investigation of one of the most interesting members of this group, the Lenape or Delawares. He gives the derivation of the name Lenape ("a male of our kind"), the three sub-tribes, the totems, the political constitution, food, architecture, manufactures, paints and dyes, dogs, interments, computation of time, picture-writing, record sticks, moral and mental character, religious belief, doctrine of the soul, priests and religious ceremonies. At greater length he describes the Lenape literature and language, history, myths and traditions. The collection of materials



seems to be valuable. Of the linguistic treatment, both here and in Mr. Gatschet's book, I am unable to judge. The *Walam Olum*, purporting to be a Lenape account of the creation of the world, its destruction by a flood, and the migrations of the tribe, is a document whose genuineness is still under discussion. It was brought to light in 1836, by Rafinesque, a native of Constantinople, who came to this country in 1815, and lived, taught and wrote in Kentucky and Philadelphia. He published much on botanical, zoological and conchological subjects, was active and ingenious, but also eccentric, full of extravagant schemes, and usually in want of money. For various reasons he came into discredit during his lifetime, and, as he gave no intelligible account of how he acquired this Lenape myth, there was a natural disinclination to accept it on the sole authority of his word. Dr. Brinton has submitted the text to educated native Indians, and thinks that their testimony is in favor of its genuineness. But as this question is still open, and the translation is held by Dr. Brinton to be as yet not quite certain, laymen in Indian archaeology must wait for the decision of scholars.

C. H. TOY.

*Anecdota Oxoniensia. Classical Series, Vol. I, Part V. Harleian MS 2610, Ovid's Metamorphoses, I, II, III 1-622. XXIV Latin Epigrams from Bodleian or other MSS. Latin Glosses on Apollinaris Sidonius from MS Digby 172, collated and edited by ROBINSON ELLIS, M. A., LL.D. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1885.*

In the *Praefatio* Ellis gives some account of the *Codex Harleianus*, which is a MS of the end of the tenth century, and shows that as it is among the oldest MSS of the *Metamorphoses*, so it is one of the best both as respects its orthography and its readings. It should rank next to the *Codex Marcianus*. Of the XXIV Epigrams, only two, XX and XXIV, had been previously edited. Ellis argues that it does not follow that these epigrams were composed in the middle ages because the MSS containing them happen to contain much else that must be assigned to that period. The final decision must rest upon internal evidence, the subject-matter, the prosody, and the use of words, and often these prove insufficient, especially in shorter poems, *e. g.* III:

Vivere non possum sine te neque vivere tecum  
 Illud namque metus impedit, illud amor  
 O utinam sine te, vel tecum vivere possem,  
 Sed mallet tecum vivere quam sine te.

is an evident extension of the theme of Ovid *Am.* III 11, 39, and Martial XII 47, 2, but who shall say in what century it was written? We quote X entire as a new example of justice:

Corruptere duo Flaviam, parit illa gemellos  
 Et cum nesciret quis pater esset, ait  
 Uni si dentur, cum sit pater unus eorum  
 Forsitan alter erit, decipiamque duos.  
 Ne pater amittat, ne nutriet aemulus ambos  
 Unum cuique dabo, decipiamque minus.

Flāvia points to a late date. Ausonius has Flāvia, and it occurs twice in a corrupt epigram (cf. Meyer, Anthol. Lat. n. 1477). In VII there is an ingenious play upon words:

*Esto superba minus dum te prece vexo, Superba*  
*Et melior fieri nomine disce tuo.*  
*Omnia quae vincis post omnia te quoque vince*  
*Immemor esse tui nominis esto memor.*

II, XIII and XVI are interesting for various reasons. The Glossae in Sidonium which occupy pp. 27-61, contain along with much chaff much that is really valuable, although they are evidently the composition of widely different periods, the latest compiler having added French and English words of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, which have of course an independent value. Of the many glosses which we have marked as interesting or curious we select the following, giving the page and number of the line in Ellis's edition:

28, 5, *sacpe numero*, *multotiens*. *multotiens* (used 40, 2) occurs also in the Scholia of the Pseudo-Acron., cf. Kukula de tribus Ps.-Ac. Sch. recensitionibus, p. 21.

29, 4, *thecatium*, in theca 'i' in repositione 'i' in forello. *repositio* is also used by Ps.-Acron., cf. Kukula, p. 8.

30, 25, *silex* 'i' *rupis*. Inde *silicernus* 'i' *curvus* a cernendo terram.

32, 1, *Runcare est aliquam herbam nocivam evellere*. Sicut *avencare* est proprie avenas extirpare et ponitur pro evellere. *avencare* is a new word, hence emend Cod. Sangallensis 912, p. 4, *abemcat*: *eradicat*, cf. Du Cange under *Aventare*.

32, 25, *perimachiam* circumpugnationem.

33, 3, Inde concretio 'i' *conmassatio*.

37, 3, *Vispillones*. Quidam dicunt esse differentiam inter *vispillones* 'i' *latrones* qui vi spoliunt et *vispillones* qui mortuos ad tumultandum deportant, sed unum trahitur ab alio 'i' *romanice*, 'ribanz.'

37, 14, *culina* 'i' *coquina*, cf. Nonius 55, 18, *culinam* veteres *coquinam* dixerunt, non ut nunc vulgus putat, etc.

40, 24, *alarum*, *romanice* 'essele,' idem est *acella*, s. *fossicula* quae sub brachiis est.

42, 29, *Sectatores litium* 'i' *placitatores litium* 'i' *causarum* unde *placitor* idem est quod *causari* vel *licitari*.

44, 20, *Veritas* enim *odium* parit et *obsequium adulationis* et *falsitatis* quandoque parit *amicos* (cf. Terence, And. 68).

45, 21, *pessulum* *opponis* 'i' *pin*.

45, 24, *eufoniam* 'i' *bonam sonoritatem*.

47, 10, *linteum* 'i' *gausape* vel *manutergium*.

47, 33, *calones* sunt *portitores lignorum* et hic accipiuntur, *calones* 'i' *peccatorum portitores*.

48, 8, *perperam*, *adverbium* 'i' *strophose* 'i' *fraudulenter* a *strophos* quod est *fraus*.

MINTON WARREN.

Dictionnaire Étymologique Latin, par MICHEL BRÉAL, Professeur au Collège de France, et ANATOLE BAILLY, Professeur au Lycée d'Orléans. Paris, Hachette et Cie. 1885.

A more attractive dictionary of etymology than this in general plan and form of statement we have never seen. In 450 beautifully printed pages there has been condensed a surprising amount of information about the Latin language. The system of Vaniček, so misleading for young scholars, inasmuch as it leads to the confident acceptance of so many impossible and non-existent roots, has not been followed. Compounds and derivatives are, however, grouped under their primitives. Under *ago*, e. g. will be found *abigo*, *cogo*, *mitigo*, *examen indago*, etc., while an index at the end shows where the words not given in alphabetical order are treated. Much prudence has been shown in the omission of etymologies which are at best very doubtful, so that for many words one must still refer to Vaniček for the numerous guesses and attempted explanations which have been made. Indeed, as the authorities for an etymology are very rarely cited, and little effort has been made to balance the claims of rival etymologies, Vaniček still remains indispensable as a guide to the literature on the subject. This work, however, is much more than a dry summary of etymologies. It is not enough to know the original meaning of a root or primitive; the sequence and development of meaning must be traced historically, if possible, and this has been attained by a lucid arrangement and by apt quotations from different authors. Vergil, who is remarkable for his employment of common words in their primitive sense, is the author most frequently cited. The plan is certainly an admirable one, and on the whole it has been well carried out. If there are some defects in the execution, and if not a few of the etymologies proposed fail to command the assent of scholars, it is not to be wondered at, if one considers the extent of the field covered. *Aestimo* is derived from *aes* and *\*timo* 'apprécier.' The archaic form *aestumo* ought certainly to have been noted here, and would put us on our guard against the etymology; the explanation proposed by Studemund, Archiv I, p. 115, from an assumed substantive *aestumus* containing the root of *tueor*, cf. *aedituus*, *aeditumari*, seems more plausible, while the connection assumed by Bezzenberger with *αἰσθάνομαι* is, to say the least, problematical. For *fortassis* the usual derivation is given from *forte an, si vis*. This has always seemed to us very doubtful, not simply on account of the quantity (*fortasse* is evidently formed directly from *fortassis*, the *s* dropping and *i* changing to *e*, cf. *potis, pote*), but more especially because in archaic Latin an infinitive is found depending upon *fortasse*, just as upon *scilicet* and *videlicet*, so that some much abridged verb-form may be contained in *fortassis* on which the inf. could depend (it could not, of course, depend on *vis*). *At* is identified with *aut*; the fact that we find *agustus, ascultare*, etc., for *augustus, auscultare*, does not seem sufficient to warrant this, cf. Jordan, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Lat. Sprache, p. 314. Despite the Vedic *pibāmi, bibere* is not connected with the root *pi, πῖνω*, but is said to stand for *bivere*, and is referred to *buo* seen in *imbuo* (?). *Cārus* is connected with *cāreo*. *Castrum*, it is suggested, may be for *caestrum*, and *Saturnus* for *Sacturnus* is referred to for the phonetic change, and Fr. *retranchement* for the meaning. *Costae* is ingeniously explained thus: "peut être pour *\*consitae* 'celles qui sont placées ensemble.'" This is certainly better

than Isidore's derivation from *custodire*. In the same way *exta* is derived from *exsita*, and *praestus* from *praesitus*. The perfect *delevi* from *de* + *levi* (*lino*) is supposed to have been earlier than the present *deleo*, which is formed from it after the analogy of *repleo*, *replevi*; for *polire*, which Vaniček connects with the same root, no derivation is attempted. *Frequens* is said to be the present participle of a lost verb, and no attempt is made to connect it with *farcire*. Bréal does not seem to recognize the existence of *pos* in Latin, although he says: "La syllabe *pos* signifie 'après,' nous la retrouvons dans le Sanscrit *pas-cât*, et dans le Grec *ὑπὸς*," and accordingly he falls into the mistake of saying: "Dans *pône pōmoerium pōmeridiem*, le *st* est tombé," but *pone* is doubtless derived directly from *posne*. It may be said on the whole that not enough attention has been paid to archaic forms and orthography. For examples of groups of words which are particularly well treated, one may refer to the articles under *lego*, *lux*, *magis*, *mitto*, *nosco*, *oleo*, *pro*, *pleo*, *puto* and *sedeo*.

M. WARREN.

XII Facsimiles from Latin MSS in the Bodleian Library, selected and arranged by R. ELLIS, M. A., Reader in Latin Literature, Oxford. Photographed and printed at the University Press, 1885. [Copies can be obtained from the Reader only, price Five Shillings.]

American scholars and teachers who are debarred from the privilege of frequently examining ancient MSS ought to be grateful to Professor Ellis for this beautiful series of facsimiles. The oldest, a Welsh MS of saec. IX (Plate 1), contains Ovid *Ars Amatoria* I 181-215, and although the text is beautifully distinct, the uninitiated will not find the character over-easy to decipher, so that it furnishes an excellent exercise in palaeography. Plates 10 and 11 give passages from the Oxford Catullus of saec. XIV (Canonicianus 30 = O), for the better appreciation of whose worth as a closer copy of the lost Veronensis we are so largely indebted to Professor Ellis. Plate 12 is of an Italian MS of saec. XIV, and contains Lucan, *Phars.* II 106-140. Some of the marks of abbreviation are very interesting, and if a student were told to copy this facsimile without abbreviations he would come to a realizing sense of the errors which scribes were liable to make. This is true also of the Sallust fragment of saec. XIII, containing *Jug.* 31, 32. The facsimiles of Sidonius (MS of saec. X) and of Vergil (Plate 4, Lombard MS of saec. X) have very few abbreviations. The Persius (Plate 5 of saec. XI) is especially interesting on account of its interlinear and marginal scholia. The other facsimiles (6, 8 and 9) contain Ovid *Met.* XIV 644-697, MS of saec. XII; Lucan, *Phars.* V 614-659, Italian MS of saec. XIII; Statius IV 44-93 (French?) MS of saec. XIII. The Statius is in a very fine hand, and is difficult to read on that account. Altogether these facsimiles will render valuable service to teachers who wish to initiate their scholars into the mysteries of palaeography. We only wish that more specimens had been included. In this connection we may call attention to the following French publication as rendering similar service: *Paléographie des Classiques Latins, Collection de Fac-similés des principaux Manuscrits*, publiée par Émile Chatelain, to appear in ten parts, of which two containing facsimiles of leading MSS of Plautus, Terence, Varro and Cicero have already been published (Hachette et Cie., Paris).

M. WARREN.

Gregorii Palamae archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis : Prosopopoeia animae accusantis corpus et corporis se defendentis, cum iudicio. Aureolum libellum, philologis, etc., commendabilem annotavit et commentariolo instruxit ALBERTUS IAHNIUS, Dr. Phil., etc. Halis, C. E. M. Pfeffer, 1884, 8vo. xii and 62 pp. With facsimile title page reproduced from the edition of Adr. Turnebus (1553).

The writings of the learned Archbishop Palamas have remained almost unknown to the philologists and theologians of our age. The cause of this lies in the scarcity and high price of the collection in which they are printed. The earliest edition is that of Adr. Turnebus, who found the manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, and reproduced it with a Latin version in his edition of 1553. This volume is now exceedingly scarce. Abbé Migne reprinted the Prosopopoeia in his *Patrologia Graeca* (Vols. 150 and 151), but how many of us philologists, exclaims Jahn, would pay thirty francs for the two volumes containing the tract? Jahn's edition is simply a critically revised reprint of the Turnebus edition. Gregorius Palamas first appears in history as the advocate and defensor of the Hesychasts (Quietists) or mystic anachorets of Mount Athos, who were known to immerse themselves in a theosophic or mystic trance by continuous observation of their navels. At the meeting of a provincial synod he successfully pleaded their cause in 1341, and also spoke in their favor in 1314 before the Patriarch and the Empress Anna, but this time failed to secure their discharge. The year after he was arrested in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia, and excommunicated in 1344 by the Patriarch of Antioch. When Cantacuzenus, the pretender to the imperial throne, threatened Constantinople with a siege in 1347, the Empress Anna exonerated and reinstalled Palamas in his former charges. Subsequently he was made Archbishop of Thessalonica by Cantacuzenus, and died there 1361 in his 63d year.

The tract *Prosopopoeia* intends to compromise pagan with Christian morals, the argumentation being mainly founded on Platonic principles. The author has personified the soul as well as the body; they discuss the problem raised by Democritus, Theophrastus and Plutarch, whether the soul sustains greater damage through the body or the body through the soul, to which it is bound by indissoluble ties. The conclusion arrived at is based on practical experience as well as on Holy Writ: the flesh should not be rejected, as was done by the Manichaeans, as thoroughly unfit for the good; the soul has to be vituperated for not educating the flesh to a life of probity.

A. S. G.



## REPORTS.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOLOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK. Jahrbücher für  
Classische Philologie. 1882.<sup>1</sup>

Heft 3.

No. 26. Zu Pindaros Epinikien, T. Fritzsche, Güstrow. The first passage discussed is Ol. 2, 15 ff.: τῶν δὲ πεπραγμένων ἐν δίκῃ τε καὶ παρὰ δίκαν ἀποίητον οὐδ' ἂν Χρόνος ὁ πάντων πατὴρ δύναιτο θέμεν ἔργων τέλος. The Greek shows a pregnant condensation of the thought, which expanded, would read: τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποίητα, ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει, "What has been done cannot be undone, but must remain sealed, as it is." Why is Χρόνος called ὁ πάντων πατὴρ? The Greek mind associates Zeus with these words. Here, however, Chronos has his attribute as 'father of all.' Πατὴρ is to be understood, however, rather as 'lenker' (ruler) than as 'schöpfer' (creator) in this passage. The translation would accordingly run: "Even Time itself, the powerful ruler of all, might not make undone what once has come to pass." The next is 2, 56, or 2, 62 in Christ's edition. Fritzsche owns G. Hermann's copy of Pindar (Boeckh's, 1825), and finds εὔτε as a marginal suggestion of his for εἰ δέ, Hermann would read: εὔτε νῦν ἔχων τις οἶδεν τὸ μέλλον, and translate: "since he who has this knows the future." Ol. 7, 1: ψάλλαν ὥς εἰ τις ἀφνειᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἑλὼν . . . δωρήσεται. F. argues in favor of connecting ἀπὸ χειρὸς with δωρήσεται, rendering ἑλὼν 'erfassend' (grasping), and translates: "mit reicher hand erfassend gibt er von sich fort." He says that ἀπό depends upon δωρήσεται and ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἑλὼν belong together—possibly a cumbersome statement of the fact that a preposition standing somewhat remote from the principal verb of a sentence often feels its influence and is changed by it. In Ol. 8, 16, G. Hermann, in a marginal note in his hand-copy of Boeckh's Pindar, proposes πρόσφατον for πρόσφατον. F. would arrange the line thus: ὅς σὲ πρόσφατον ἐν Νεμέῃ. The rhythm, he argues, is preserved and the sense strengthened. Πρόσφατον he translates 'neulich' (recently), as in Py. 4, 299. In Ol. 8, 41, F. argues that the part. ὀρμαίνων cannot be rendered *secum volvere*; with such a meaning it *always* has a *general* object. Besides, does Greek poetry represent Apollo as pondering before venturing on an act? Either the trans. *secum volvere* is correct but exceedingly exceptional, or a different reading must be given. F. proposes ἀμφαίνων. Ol. 8, 52, Bergk and Mommsen suggest δαιτικλυτάν or δαιτακλυτάν as the omitted lemma to τελοῦσαν in Schol. A. F. maintains this would mean 'celebrated through one's sacrificial offerings.' With regard to the next 7 lines the discussion is mainly on the sense. The latter part of the passage F. amplifies and translates thus: denn ich will

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. V, p. 120. Mr. Waters has kindly promised to bring up, as soon as possible, the long arrears of the report of this valuable periodical.—B. L. G.

zugleich [mit diesem Olymp. knabensieg des Alkimedon] erwähnen einen solchen [knaben-] sieg [des Timosthenes] in Nemea und dessen späteren männersieg im pankration.

27. Zu d. Griech. Iambographen, Jacob Sitzler, Tauberbischofsheim. *Archilochos* 74, 9 (Bergk): S. proposes two readings for the hopelessly corrupt last five words; either *ὑλῆεντ' ὄρεα*, or *ὑλη τ' ἡδ' ὄρος*. *Simonides Amorginus* 1, 9 and 10: S. proposes *μίξεσθαι φίλοις* for *ἱξεσθαι φίλος*; *μίξεσθαι* in the sense of 'gelangen zu.' The Teubner text of 1883, however, reads *πλέον* for *φίλος*. In 7, 12 S. would read *λίταργον* and refer it to *κυνός*. Teubner, 1883, reads *λίταργον*. In v. 50 for *δύστηνον* (still in Teubner, 1883) *δυστήνου* and join it with *γαλῆς*. In 7, 53 he removes *ἀληνῆς* and writes with Valckenaer, Brunck and Schneidewin *ἀδηνῆς*; for *περιτρέπει* (7, 58) he suggests *περιτρέπει*, with references to the Iliad. In 7, 76, for *αὐτόκωλος*,<sup>1</sup> *αὐτόκαυλος*, 'die wahre stange.' In 7, 94, 95, he proposes for *ταῦτα* (Ribbeck, *πάντα*) *φαῦλα*; does not follow Ribbeck in reading *μενεῖ* for *μένει* or Bergk in reading *τ' ἐπ' ἄτη* for *τε πάντα*. In 7, 100 he proposes for *πέλεται*, *στέλλεται*, and gives it the same meaning as in Herod. III 53, or III 124. In v. 110 he does away with Bergk's dash and the aposiopesis and finds the *γάρ* objectionable. Hermann proposed *μάλ'* in its place, *κάρτ'* would have been better and at the same time Ionic. S., however, proposes *παρ* and renders: "Auch wenn ein mann an gar nichts denkt." In *Hippoxanax*, frag. 14, S. proposes *θῆπον* for *θηπών*, *μητροκώτας* (acc. plur.) for *μητροκώτης*; for *ἄρτον*, *Γάλλον*; for *κνίζον καὶ φελίζων*, *καπαμφάλησαν* = *καὶ ἐθαύμασαν*, cf. fr. 130, 131. In 35, 4, for *χρῆ, ἐτλη*, translating: "so dass er es über sich brachte, oder, bringen musste." In frag. 64 (Bergk) he reads for *κelaίρε*, *ἐλέαιρε* (Teub. 18, 83 has *κονίσκε*), and makes various other alterations. Other critical notes treat on *Ananias* 5, 3; *Hermippos* 5; *Herodas* 5, 3; *Kerkidas* 7.

28. Fridolfus Gustafsson, Helsingfors, proposes a new reading in Eurip. I. T. 782, namely, *τάχ' οὖν ἐρῶν τι εἰς ἄπιστ' ἀφίξομαι*, where Nauck reads *ἐρωτῶν σ'*.

29. Die Pseudo-Hippokratische Schrift *Περὶ Διαίτης*, G. P. Weygoldt. W. maintains that the treatise *περὶ ἐννυνίων* should be added as a fourth book to the three which pass as canonical in the *περὶ διαίτης*. The diction, he further adds, is the same in all four books; the treatment of the more subtle diseases belongs to the chapter discussed in the three first books; the dietetic and gymnastic rules are the same; the peculiar psychological presentation is the same; the notions we find in the first book concerning the three circulations appear in the fourth more completely developed, and the concluding sentence of the *περὶ ἐννυνίων* fits all four books better than it does the first alone. Discussing the whole work then, W. aims to establish the following four points: the fact that this treatise is included in the collection of Hippokrates' writings indicates that it was written between 420 and 380 B. C.; that the style of the work indicates that it is a compilation and not original, while the evidences of haphazardness are apparent and undeniable; and that the dietetic writer was influenced not only by Herakleitos but also by Empedokles, Anaxagoras and Archelaos.

<sup>1</sup> *αὐτόκωλος* may be translated 'All-limbs.' This puts the preceding *ἀπυγος* in its right light and makes *αὐτόκαυλος* unnecessary. So we might call Falstaff *αὐρόσαρξ*. —B. L. G.

(8) A word from Dressler, Bautzen, zu Stobaios' Anthologion XIV 9.

30. Aphrodite-Astarte, F. Hommel, München. Not only is the Greek goddess of love, but her name also of Phoenician origin. Ashtoreth is the Phoen. name. The Greeks having no *sh*, came as near as they could to it by substituting *θ* for it. In fact we find *Aθtar* among the South-Arabians, who got their Astarte from the Babylonians. *Sh* later became *ph* (pronounced as in Sanskrit), a change which H. thinks is common and probable enough; at the same time a metathesis between the *t* and *r* occurred. This would give *Aphrōteth*, and out of this (not from the sea foam) comes Aphrodite.

31. Zu Herodotos, E. Bachof, Eisenach. B. discusses the question whether Herod. ever returned from Thurioi to Athens and there revised portions of his work. He maintains that Herod. did not. Bk. V 77, he maintains, gives exactly the contrary evidence to that which hitherto has been derived from it. It shows that at the time of its composition Herod. had not seen the city a second time. "Since other passages, which have also been assumed as written in Athens, render still less necessary such a supposition, and can be referred to a sojourn of Herod. in Athens only in case such a sojourn shall be evinced by better testimony than that which V 77 affords, the idea that Herod. returned from Thurioi to Athens at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war is to be looked upon as belonging to the limbo of the most uncertain hypotheses."

32. Zu Platon's Laches, Ch. Cron, Augsburg. This is in reply to Eichler (Jahrb. 1881, p. 383 ff.). The passage discussed is in 196d. Eichler proposes to omit *πᾶσα* before *ῥε*. Cron, however, retains it, and understands the sense of the passage to be: 'if this strong and valiant beast, according to your convictions, cannot at all be called brave, so with less propriety can every tame or wild sow.' The meaning of the scholiast on this passage in likening dogs and swine is also discussed.

33. Kritische Studien zu d. Griech. Erotikern, F. W. Schmidt, Neustrelitz. This article, covering 20 pages, connects itself with the author's "beiträge zur kritik der Griech. Erotiker." It is occupied entirely with critical studies in Chariton, Xenophon Ephesios, Eustathios and Aristainetos, and dwells upon points too minute for anything but a general notice here.

34. Zu Sulpic. Severus, H. Wensky, Breslau. Halm reads, Chron. II 16, 3, *initioque convivii*. W. proposes *meritoque* ('aus anlass') CONVIVII.

(25). Zu Catullus, K. P. Schultze, Berlin. In Cat. III 1 we have *Veneres Cupidinesque*. S., in explaining this plural, *Veneres*, agrees with Ellis, ascribing it to the influence of the following plural; finds fault with E. however, for failing to quote similar phenomena. He refers E. to Jacobi's "de usu numeri pluralis apud poetas latinos" (Pforta, 1841), and adds similar usages of the plural which he himself has noticed. In LXIV 54 and 253 occur two references to Ariadne. The MSS write this name variously, but none as we write it to-day. That the MSS are not guilty of misspelling, however, is shown from archaeological remains found in Crete bearing this name. Cat. represents Theseus as leaving Ariadne on the island Dia. Whether Dia be the same as Naxos is a matter of doubt. S. maintains that it is the Dia lying near Krete and adduces five reasons. Having given his reasons for preferring

(Cat. 64, 243) *inflati* as G. and O. give it, in place of *infecti* (see Haupt and Vahlen's edition), S. next takes up the question whether the whole 64th is only a translation from Kallimachos (Rhein. Mus. XXI 498 ff.) and from Kall. only. He believes that it is not; that while it is composed after the art of the Alexandrian school, it contains thoughts, often translations, from Homer, Euripides, Theokritos, Apollonios and Euphorion; that Cat. made great use of the Medea-legend, as he found it in Eurip. and Apollon., in his account of Ariadne; that Ovid used Cat. in his picture of the metamorphosis of Scylla (8th book), and that Vergil did the same in his account of Dido's grief over her desertion. S. cites numerous passages from the above-mentioned authors, from whom he maintains Cat. borrowed material.

35. Zu Plinius' Briefen, A. Eussner, Würzburg. E. conjectures for *lata, alta* in VIII 4, 1, and refers to IX 33, where he finds *altissimo* used in a parallel sense.

36. Zu Caesar und seinen Fortsetzern, O. Schambach, Altenburg (fortsetz. v. Jahrgang, 1879, pp. 867-70). In the first question which S. raises, we see, by comparing Bell. Gall. V 2, 4, V 5, 3, V 8, 1, that 4800 cavalry are spoken of, but that in the dividing up of the cavalry, when C. departs to meet the Treveri and leaves Labienus behind, only 4000 are accounted for, what becomes of the other 800? We must understand that 'their connection with the legion was already firmly rooted and presupposed [by Caesar] as already known,' (see Nipperdey, Quaes. Caes. p. 216.) In B. G. VI 7, 6, S. argues we should read 'loquitur in consilio ('council of war') palam' rather than 'loq. in concilio palam,' 'er spricht im kriegsrat ganz offen.' In B. G. VI 40, 6, *etiam nunc* is taken as the work of a glossator; S. gives his reasons for this view. The difficulties met with in trying to reconcile B. G. V 24, 2; V 53, 1; V 53, 2; VI 5, 6 and VI 7, 1 are next discussed. S. proposes *Remorum* in place of *eorum* (VI 7, 1) and rejects *in Treveros* after *ad Labienum* as a gloss. Two passages in B. C. are discussed; first III 112, 2, the conclusion arrived at being that the breadth of the heptastadion mentioned here was 120 ft., corresponding to that of the principal streets, with which understanding earlier accounts agree, and that *angusto itinere et ponte* are not Caesar's words; secondly, III 95, 1, where S. reads *qui fessi* for *qui etsi*. In B. Alex. VIII 2 S. rejects *a Paraetonio* and *ab insula* for reasons based upon the geography of Alexandria and upon Kiepert in the Zeitschrift für Erdkunde, 1872, p. 349.

#### Heft 4.

Minor articles are the following: 38, Zu Sophokles Antigone, F. Kern, Berlin; 39, Ein Codex Tubingensis d. Gregorius v. Nazianz u. d. Nonnos, H. Flach, Tübingen; 41, Zu Euripides Hekabe, B. Hirschwälder, Breslau; 43, Zu Horatius, J. Oberdick, Münster, and E. Goebel, Fulda; 44, Zu Athenaios, K. Ohlert, Berlin; 45, Zu Alkiphron, B. Hirschwälder, Breslau; 46, Zu Senecas Suasorien, A. Eussner, Würzburg.

37. Zur Katharsis-frage, H. Siebeck, Basel. The argument rests upon the fact that the medical sense of the word katharsis is the foundation for its psychological explanation. Katharsis is therefore an eradication of the foreign and hurtful elements, as a result of which eradication a pleasant sense of

relief is felt. It has to do not with the intellect and the will, but with the feelings, and accomplishes its effects not by quieting but by arousing them. It is coordinate with the artistic enjoyment that a tragedy affords by an energetic excitement of our fears and sympathies. With this must be reconciled the fact that a tragedy can arouse unpleasant or not purely pleasant sensations. Three factors help towards the accomplishment of this reconciliation; first, Plato's views; and here numerous references are made by S. both to Plato and to modern literature. Plato held the view that our sensibilities were 'irrigated' by seeing tragedies, and that the charm of them lay in the knowledge of the fact that the feelings aroused by them did not rest like an oppressive weight on the soul, but were temporary and soon vanished. Secondly, the fact that Arist. holds closely to the medical sense of the word; that the katharsis is one of certain elements only and not a complete eradication or suppression of all. Thirdly, that Aristotle's katharsis rests upon Plato's criticism of plays, as found in *Philebos* 47, 50 and 52. Plato looks upon the emotion aroused in beholding a play as a confusion of pleasure and pain. Accepting this as a fact, and seeking the cause and the remedy for it, Aristotle was led to his doctrine of the katharsis. And this doctrine has to do only with the 'entfernung des drückenden aus den affecten.' The remainder of the article is occupied with the questions how, according to Aristotle's views, do fear and sympathy arise in the spectator, and, secondly, how he is freed from 'the oppressive feelings.'

40. *Homerisches*, P. Cauer and P. Stengel, Berlin. These articles call attention, first, to certain cases where the plural *ἑκαστοί* standing in apposition does not admit of a ready understanding. Four such cases are mentioned and are to be found in *Ω* 1, *ω* 417, *H* 99 and *Ψ* 55. In the latter two cases, however, C. changes to *ἑκαστός*. Secondly, to a proposed change in *B* 291, namely, from *πῶνος* to *πῶδος*; thirdly, to a proposed change of punctuation in *T* 237, namely, the insertion of a comma after *ἄρπυρις*. C. translates: "denn dies ist die (ein für allemal geltende) aufforderung: schlecht wird es dem gehen, der etwa zurück bleibt." *Δ* 120 suggests to Stengel a word on the meaning of *πρωτόγονος*. He maintains that it does not mean 'first born,' as it is being translated, but 'recently born,' and refers to *E* 194, where *πρωτοπαγεῖς* is used of a newly made wagon. S. believes it possible that the translation 'first born' has arisen through a mistaken belief that recently born animals were not sacrificed. That this is a mistaken belief S. shows from post-Homeric writers, and emphasizes the stability of sacrificial ritual.

42. *Zu Dionysios von Halikarnasos*, G. Mentzner, Plauen im Vogtlande. This article covers 22 pages, and is called out mainly because the author finds Cobet in his 'observationes criticae et paleographicae ad Dion. Hal. antiquitates romanas' (Leiden, 1877) has in the main agreed with, and thereby confirmed, what M. had already published in the *JJ.* 1877, pp. 809-34. However, M. is not wholly satisfied with Cobet's work, and notes 25 passages in the 6th book of Dion. where in text reading or interpretation he differs from Cobet; they are *VI* 9, 13, 16, 17, 22, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 36, 40, 41, 42, 44, 47, 48, 49, 56, 61, 69, 83, 84, 88, and 93.

47. *Die Consecut. temporum des praes. hist.* zunächst bei Caesar, A. Hug, Zürich. This comes in reply to Heynacher's 'was ergibt sich aus d. sprach-



gebrauch Caesar's im Bell. G. für d. behandlung der lat. syntax in d. schule' (Berlin, 1881). H. denies the principle laid down by Hug (JJ. 1860, pp. 877-87) with reference to subjunctive clauses (excepting those introduced by *cum*) dependent upon a hist. pres., namely, that the pres. was very often (in Caes. generally) used, though the preterite construction is found equally warranted; that a close study reveals the fact that the position of the subjunctive clause with reference to the finite verb has great influence upon the choice of tense, thus: (a) if the subjunctive clause follows the hist. present of the principal clause, both constructions are promiscuously employed; (b) if the subjunctive clause precedes the pres. hist. of the principal clause, the imperf. as a rule is used, with few exceptions. Hug maintains that this principle is in the main correct, that further study of his has revealed its influence in Livy, Bk. I, in Cicero (Verres) and the Bellum Civile. But taking Bell. Gall. alone, collecting all cases where *ut*, *ne*, *quo*, *quoniam* or *priusquam* clauses follow a hist. pres. the principle applies. Hug has restated it as follows: a subjunctive clause, preceding its principal clause which has a pres. hist., is put in the imperf. or pluperf. when the last preceding verb is preterite; if it is present, however, the pres. or imperf. may be used, as in subjunctive clauses which follow their principal clauses.

48. Zu Plautus Asinaria, K. Dziatzko, Breslau. That from the time of the earliest editors of the Asinaria to the present day the two slaves Leonida and Libanus have not been contrasted is remarkable. Two passages seem to D. to prove, however, that a decided difference existed, coupled with many points of resemblance between them. Leonida was the elder; he passes himself off for Saurea, and that the latter was old is shown in v. 85. Verses 400 and 401 show that in addition Leonida had no specially beautiful face or figure. This makes it impossible, therefore, to give v. 627 to Libanus; Leonida must be the speaker. If these points be well taken, it seems natural and right when we come to v. 640, where the young master is refused participation in the consultation between the slaves, that the denial came from Leonida, not from Libanus, as texts usually give the passage.

Heft 5 and 6.

Articles of lesser interest are possibly the following: 50, De Carmine Cereali, H. Draheim, Berolini; 52, Inschriftliches, P. Stengel, Berlin; 56, Zu Valerius Maximus, H. Wersky, Breslau; 59, Ennianum et Ciceronianum, A. Bährens, Groningae; 60, Analekta, G. Landgraf, Schweinfurt; 61, Römische Literaturgeschichte in Italien (an d. herausgeber), M. Hertz, Breslau; 62, Zu Petronius, H. Rönsch, Lobenstein; 63, Zu Quintilianus, A. Eussner, Würzburg; (22), Zu Martiales, H. Flach, Tübingen, and 65, Philologische Gelegenheitsschriften. No. 54 is a review by P. Schwartzkopff, Wernigerode, of the dissertatio inauguralis philologica 'de ironia Menexeni platonici,' by Theo. Berndt. 55 reviews Prof. Dr. H. Siebeck's (Basel) Geschichte d. Psychologie I. 1. 57 is a review by H. Berger (Leipzig) of Dr. K. J. Neumann's 'Strabons Quellen im 11ten buche,' I. Kaukasien. habilitationsschrift.

49. Die legenden vom tode des Pheidias, H. Müller-Strübing, London. This article covers 50 pages. There are two sources of information concerning the last days of Pheidias; the one is Plutarch, who says that after the completion of

the chryselephantine statue of Athene for the Parthenon, Pheidias died at Athens either by means of poison or through grief. The other is derived from two schol. on Aristophanes, and states that Pheid. after completing the chryselephantine Zeus for Olympia was put to death by the Eleians. Critics follow these authorities variously; E. Curtius has in the main followed Plutarch. That Pheidias was at some time in his life in want we gather from Aristophanes' *Peace*; but it is left undetermined in what kind of want he had fallen; one can merely believe that in some way his last days, possibly, were clouded over by misfortune. S. discusses then the two stories, that the enemies of Pheidias accused him of stealing a portion of the gold intended for the Athene statue, and that he was charged with having made upon the shield of Athene a likeness of himself and of Perikles in a battle scene of the Amazons. S. holds that both stories are improbable, that they are artists' legends, repeated by the periegetes to admiring travellers, that Plutarch accepted such stories too readily, and that Pausanias, the great traveller, makes no mention of the second story shows that he did not believe it. With regard to the first story S. raises the point whether the law did not require an account to be rendered by the contractor to the state before he could lay down his duties and be absolved from them; and if that is so, and if, as we have no evidence to the contrary, the law had been satisfied, how could this charge of his enemies be brought against him? With regard to the second charge, how could it be brought by the same man who brought the first, Minon, and failed so completely in maintaining it? How could it be so thoroughly believed in that upon his charge Pheid. was thrown into prison? Why, if there *was* a likeness, had it not been at once detected, and that too by the public eye? Did it require the eye of an artist, of Minon, to detect it? Besides, one of the characters on the shield was a slave, and would Pheid. take the trouble to immortalize himself or Perikles in the role of a naked slave hurling a rock?

The date of Pheidias' death is discussed at some length. That 431 B. C. cannot be taken as certain is maintained by Sauppe, and M.-S. takes the same view; with a tendency, however, to settle on 434 or 435 B. C. The story touching the honesty of Perikles is also touched upon, while the author devotes quite a number of pages to the question where Pheidias breathed his last. S. sums up his article thus: Pheidias passed away peacefully, when, we cannot decide, since his death was not noticed in the din of the Peloponnesian war; hardly, however, in Olympia itself, since his grave would have been pointed out, as well as the creations of his art; rather in some corner of the Eleian land; and when the Athenians were able to visit Olympia after the peace of Nikias, they then admired the mighty Zeus-statue, but over the grave of its maker the grass had already grown green.

51. Phlegyer-sagen, A. Schultz, Hirschberg in Schlesien. The names Elatos, Panopeus and Koronis are the most familiar in these myths. The Phlegyans as well as the myths are of Thessalian origin; later the people migrated to Boeotia and Phokis. Elateia in Phokis is described by the Greeks as of Phlegyan origin, but in Pausanias it is said (VIII 4, 3) that Elatos himself came from Arkadia. That would mean, according to K. O. Müller's rule, that a portion of the Phlegyans had penetrated into Arkadia; in fact Elatos was honored in Tegea. In the miraculous fire-birth S. sees a resemblance to the

birth of Asklepios and of Dionysos; all three represent force. Dionysos is the god of vegetation, who alternately kills and re-animates it. So Asklepios is the chief divinity of the Phlegyans, a similar personification of vegetation. He belongs to both worlds—the world here and the world below. The mother's name (Koron is *Κορώνη* = *εἶδος στεφάνου*, Hesych.) signifies crown, and it is the curving, crown-shaped earth which in the springtime yields flowers and garlands. It is as mother earth that Koronis appears among the nurses of Dionysos. How Apollo got into the Phlegyan myth as the father of Asklepios Schultz does not know, but conjectures that Ischys, son of Elatos, the paramour of Koronis according to the familiar story (Pind. P. 3), was the original figure.

(38). Zu Sophokles *Antigone*, F. Kern, Berlin. The passage dwelt upon lies in vv. 755–57. The argument is in favor of retaining these lines in their present order and in the form in which they have been handed down. Of course the greatest trouble found with these lines is the apparently incorrect use of *κατέλλειν*. How can it be used after the unfilial words of Haimon just preceding? K. finds none of the attempts to interpret the lines either as they stand or through emendation to be satisfactory. After Haimon has exhausted his arguments and declared his intention to perish with Antigone, he declares to his father that it is impossible to see a threat in merely contradicting unfounded words. With reference to *οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖν*, he has just been called *κενὸς φρενῶν* by his father, and returns him his compliment now in this much milder form. A hesitation in the voice before these words would have added greatly also toward weakening the hardness of the line. The father sees, however, plainly enough his son's insubordination (as the beginning of 756 shows) and his transfer of allegiance. But the very form in which Haimon casts his words in 755 shows also that a respect still exists in his breast for his father's authority. We have here what is called a condition contrary to fact; and this fact, namely, "You *are* my father and I respect you," is what at just this time strikes Kreon unpleasantly. He thinks it is a kind of wheedling or flattery on his son's part, and hence it is that he turns to him with the words *μὴ κώτελλέ με*.

53. Zu Thukydides, A. Grossmann, Neumarkt in West Preussen. Six passages in Thuk. are treated here. First, III 36, 2, G. fails to adopt Classen's *καί* before *ὅτι*. He does not look upon *ὅτι* . . . *ἐποιήσαντο* as the princ. clause. Classen, however, held to this view, and considered the fault of the Mytilenaeans as the main idea of the passage. G. looks upon this as an error; it is rather the anger of the Athenians which is emphasized, through the influence of which they decided upon the cruel punishment. Secondly, III 82, 5, G. translates differently from Classen: "Wer mit (offenen) nachstellungen glück hatte, galt für verständig, wer allerhand verdächtigungen ausklügelte war noch bedeutender." Thirdly, IV 14, 2, G. believes this sentence is taken from II 8, 4; that it does not suit the context here, where there is no *variety* of action described, as in II 8, 4, and that we have here to do with something which has been smuggled into the text. Fourthly, IV 113, 2, Classen and Stahl both read *ἐκκαθεύδοντες* without any manuscript authority. G. would read *καθεύδοντες*, which has MS authority. Fifthly, IV 117, 2, G., differing from Classen, translates: "denn es kam ihnen vor allen darauf an ihre (gefangenen) bürger

wiederzuhaben, so lange Brasidas noch im glücke war, und sie wollten, nachdem Br. vorteile errungen, und die Spartanische sache der Athenischen gegenüber ins gleichgewicht gebracht hatte, sogar diese vorteile fahren lassen, dafür aber jene (die gefangenen) in folge der gleichheit der erfolge (also ohne demütigung) befreien und so noch die chance haben, als könnten sie auch noch siegen (wenn sie nehmlich weiter kämpften). Sixthly, IV 98, 2, G. proposes a change of text: οἱς ἂν πρὸς τὸ εἰωθὸς καὶ δύνανται, 'dem herkommen gemäss.'

58. Anzeige von B. Lupus, Cornelius Nepos oder Julius Hyginus. Der sogenannte Cornelius Nepos, von G. F. Unger, aus d. abhand. d. kais. bayer. akademie der wiss. 1 Cl. XVI band, München, 1881. The object of this book reviewed by L. is to prove that Nepos is not the author of *De Viris Illustribus*. The matters of fact and of language bearing on this view are developed in two chapters, and in the third the attempt is made to prove that Hyginus, the freedman of Augustus, the littérateur, historian, and librarian, is the author of the 23 lives. Lupus, however, in his review of this thesis, holds to the authenticity and identity of Nepos as the author. He does not believe there is anything in '*De Viris Illustribus*' that can influence us to settle upon the peaceful government of Augustus or the *floruit* of Hyginus as the time of the author. He believes that he lived a generation earlier, when all things were under the control of sovereign generals and a supreme soldiery—in the time of Nepos himself, and that Nepos was the author.

59. Zur Erklärung der Aeneis, Th. Plüss, Basel. This article is in reply to 'die politische Tendenz der Aeneide Vergils,' by Georg, Stuttgart, 1880, in which he criticized Plüss's own book, 'der reiz erzählender dichtung, und die Aeneis Vergils' (Basel, 1882). P. sees in the victory of Memmius over Gyas, in the fifth book, a reference by Vergil to those victories which a Memmius, during the Augustan period, won as champion of the Plebs from a patrician Gyas or Geganus, together with the Italians. In the form and fate of Sergius he sees a reference to Sergius Catiline. In reply to the question, how could this or the victories of Memmius be connected with the praises of Augustus and the Julian line, P. answers that Vergil looked upon the strength and imperial power of Augustus as the culmination of Roman history. In a certain sense Rome had been founded and her history hitherto made that this culminating point might be reached—the reign of Augustus; and what had occurred to bend the course of events in this direction had tended to this purpose that the Julian gens might be glorified in the person of the first emperor. P. defends at considerable length the poetic strength and historical consistency of the long passage in the first book, where Jupiter unfolds to Venus the long scroll of the future.

W. E. WATERS.

#### RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, XXXVII 4.

1. pp. 485-95. R. Förster. Notes on the History of Philology. To the question whether copies of Naevius and Ennius existed in the Middle Ages, F., after examining certain affirmative evidence quoted by Fr. Haase in lectures delivered in 1861, gives a decided negative answer.

2. pp. 496-505. Chr. Lütjohann. The Text of Cicero's *Cato Maior*. L. thinks the evidence of haste in composition is to be seen most clearly in

passages where the author inserted his afterthoughts without stopping to restore the connection. So in 55, at the end of a list, stand the words: *possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum rusticarum, sed ea ipsa quae dixi sentio fuisse longiora*; and then, in spite of this conclusion, comes a continuation of the list. L. thinks that in 55-60 many things occur which might fairly tempt a writer to doubt the genuineness of the passage. So in the story of Curius Dentatus he fails to find such an illustration of the delights of rural life as may be drawn from the same story in Plutarch's version of it. Then the words *sed venio ad agricolas* sound as if there had been no previous talk of farm life. And the story of Cincinnatus and Sp. Maenius is given with doubtful accuracy. Considering these and other faults in the argument, L. inclines to think that Cicero at first wrote 57 immediately after 54, and that the intervening paragraphs were very hastily and carelessly written for later insertion. In the same way he accounts for 58, and for the transitions in 39-44. Other instances are found in 50, 65, 73-74. In view of such a method of composition many faults of expression may well be due to the author; but since our MSS command no great confidence, L. thinks an editor should not refuse to cure manifest absurdities by simple means. Accordingly in 15 he proposes either to write *omnibus* for *quibus*, or to insert *omnibus* after *quibus*. At the end of 51, *munitam* for *munitur*. In 76 he arranges *num ea constans iam requirit aetas? sunt etiam eius aetatis quae media dicitur*. From 54 he cuts out the words *dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi*, and *lenientem desiderium quod capiebat e filio*. In 72 the argument should be that old men are more fearless than the young, because they know they cannot live long, and therefore find it easy to sacrifice the little that remains to them. It is therefore probable that a considerable number of words have been lost after *tueri possit*. L. gives what he thinks the proper sense as follows: . . . *tueri possit < senex; sin autem officiis deesse coepit, ut philosophi quidam volunt, sua ei manu vitae finem imponere licet; atque quo propius a morte abesse videtur, eo promptius nescio an vita excedere possit > mortemque contemnere*.

3. pp. 506-15. C. Wachsmuth. The Collection of Apophthegms in the Froben Edition of the *Scriptores Gnomici*. Several facts of considerable interest touching collections of this character and the MSS in which they are preserved are brought to light.

4. pp. 516-530. F. Bücheler. Old Latin. Continuation from XXXVI 2. *Samentum*, a Hernican word (Fronto IV 4, p. 67 Naber), is related to *sagmen* as *segmentum* to *segmen*; the guttural has been lost as in *lumen*, *examen*. The word belongs to the Italic root *sak*; and its general sense is *means of divine confirmation, token of consecration*. B. repeats what Mommsen has said, that a special Hernican dialect, distinct from Latin, existed as little (and as much) as a Praenestine dialect. In a gloss of Charisius (p. 242 Keil) should perhaps be read: *buttutti luctus quidam*. The word *cordolium* occurs once or twice in Plautus, then again in Appuleius (Met. 9, 21), who may have used it because Plautus had done so. The very existence of the word has been denied by scholars who wished to print *condolium*. But it has never lost its place in the spoken language. To this day people say *cordoglio* in Italy and *cordojo* in Spain and *cordoli* in Wallachia. *Pantex* is another word rare in the books but



common in common speech, as the German *Panzer* bears witness. *Agina* (cf. *coquina*, *ruina*, *fodina*, etc.) means a balance, or an important part of the balance; hence *aginare* and *aginator* of the small trader. Another and more extensive employment of *agina* appears in the Romance languages, where it denotes activity or speed. The development of meaning is explained by a gloss of Philoxenos: *aginat διαπράσσεται στρέφει μηχανάται*. So once in the ancient literature, Petron. 61. Important additions to the known Latin vocabulary must be sought by studying the Romance languages. If there were a choice between getting another *Cena Trimalchionis* or recovering one of the lost epics of the Empire, B. would choose the former without hesitation; and a single word recovered from the Romance languages may tell us more of Roman common speech, character, humor, than a dozen of the words to be found in all the authors. What name did the Roman give to a hole in his purse? The dictionaries give an ample collection of words that might do; in fact the word was, to judge from Romance evidence, *pertusium*. And to stop the hole was *adturare* or *returare*, the former known only from Romance sources. In the literature *caseus* is the name not only of the material but also of the shape of the cheese; in the dairy of course a distinction was necessary. And the African translation of the Bible (I Samuel, 17, 18) has the expression *formellas casei*; most of the Romance languages have the name *formaticus*, which appears to be old. The word *gomia*, glutton, is used often by Lucilius, once by the imitator Appuleius. A comparison with Greek γέμω, γέμος, γόμος is entirely natural. In Umbrian *gomia* is an epithet for the sacrificial sow, probably the *sus gravis* sacrificed to the Chthonian deities. In Spanish *gomia* means glutton. But for the chance preservation of the word in Latin, it might seem venturesome to make Spanish explain Umbrian. Lucilius, 450 ff. (Lachmann) B. writes as follows: *rex cotus ille duo hos ventos austrum atque aquilonem, | novisse aiebat, solos hos: demagis istos | ex nimbo austellos nec nosse nec esse putare*. The word *demagis* (= *de + magis*) is a colloquialism for *ceteros*, which would not have suited the metre. Lachmann thought *de* could be compounded only with adverbs of place. Such a generalization rests on few particular facts, though it may be right enough for the Augustan poets; but B. thinks it should count for very little as a limitation upon the popular capacity for word-formation. Even in *deinde*, *de* does not belong to *inde* as it does to the word with which it is combined in *de eo* or *denuo*. In numerous prepositional compounds the direct bearing of the preposition is upon something outside the word with which the preposition is united; so in *deunx*, *praenimis* (beyond other things to a high degree). In the quoted passage from Lucilius *demagis* means *starting from* (or *going beyond*) *the two winds named—more*. The word survives in Spanish *el demas vino*, the remaining wine. And it has produced derivatives, *demasia*, *demasiado*, *demasiadamente*. The name of Lucilius gives B. occasion to propound a curious little question, which he thinks may serve to give point to the repeated statement of the need of a careful collation of the Bobbian Scholia to Cicero. The praeco Granius, famous for his humorous quips, is said to have borne the praenomen Quintus. For this the authority is found in Cic. Brut. 172 and in Mai's reading of Schol. ad Cic. pro Plancio p. 259 Orelli. Possibly the Q. in the first passage is due to a corruption, and possibly Mai found in his palimpsest what he thought he ought to find. At all events there

is reason for thinking the man's name was *Aulus Granius*. A Roman inscription, now at Rokeby Hall in England, was recently published in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, IV, p. 297, as follows: *Rogat ut resistas, hospes, te hic tacitus lapis, | dum ostendit, quod mandavit quoniam umbram te[git] = | Pudentis hominis frugi cum magna fide, | Praeconi Oli Grani sunt ossa heic sita. | tantum est. hoc voluit nescius ne esses. vale. A. Granius M. l. Strabilio praeco*. Everything in this inscription points to the period at which we naturally assume the well-known praeco Granius must have died. And this inscription appears to have been made for a man of more consequence than the common auctioneer—for a man who had relations with the Muses and the poets. And if this be the tombstone of the humorist, there is a doubled charm about the faint suggestion of gentle humor in the epitaph that some friendly poet wrote. It is well known that *n* sometimes disappeared before a following consonant—very often before *s*, not seldom before a guttural or *t*. Of such disappearance before *d* no example has been registered from literary Latin, but such a pronunciation as *secudo kaledas* was not unknown to vulgar speech. The nasal appears in the formation of the present stem of a considerable number of verbs; in the perfect stems of such verbs the nasal does not appear: *pepigi*, *pupugi*, *tetigi*, and from stems ending in dentals, *scicidi*, *tutudi*. But the presence of the nasal in *tundo* led in time to the consequence that *tund-* was regarded as the simple stem of the verb, whence the noun *tundur* and the perfect *tunsi*. In reduplicated perfects of the kind noted the vowel of the penult is short. There are only two reduplicated perfects with long stem-vowel—*cecidi* and *pepedi*. And *pepedi* belongs (cf. *πέπομαι*) by its origin with those reduplicated perfects which were from stems that always, in all nominal and verbal formations, end in two consonants. Of these four belong to stems that end in *nd*—*pependi*, *tetendi*, *spopondi*, *totondi*. This last verb was often confounded with *tundo*, and the form *totondi* was therefore specially exposed to the influence of the analogy of *tutudi*. There would, then, be no occasion for surprise in finding a perfect *totodi*, or, without the reduplication in a compound, *attodi*, after the manner of *contudi*. Verg. Cat. 10 (8), 16 has the form *deposisse*, antiquated and given over to the vulgar, but used by the poet on account of its adaptability to the difficult metre. Another vulgar form, similarly recommended, occurs in v. 9, but has been misunderstood by the editors, who print *bidente dicit attotonse forcice*. In the only authoritative MS—that of Brussels—the reading is *attodisse forcipe*. This is entirely right. Such a word as *attotonse* is a malformation: the reduplication and the perfect formation in *-si* are entirely inconsistent with each other. Verg. Cat. 7 (9) has the word *putus* (in the MSS *potus*). Plaut. Asin 694 has the diminutive *putillus*. The same diminutive occurs Var. Sat. fr. 568. Here the *u* is short, but this is no conclusive proof of short *u* for *putus*. To be sure it is *pütus* in the passage first cited, but it is there explained that the word has something wrong with it. The pentameter quoted by Varro, L. L. III 28, *fili Potoni, sesquisenex puerum*, has the syllable long in a related word, and so again *salaputium* in Catull. 53. Probably *pütillus* is to be counted as one of the derivative words with a quantity different from that found in the simple stems. In Plaut. Bacch. 123, the name *Poticio* has always troubled the commentators. It is probably an adjective formed like *novicius*, *emissicius*. It stands in humorous contrast with *tantus natu* of the foregoing verse.

5. pp. 531-47. O. Ribbeck. Notes on the *Menaechmi* of Plautus. "In philology as in medicine the methods of treatment suffer periodic change. The art of patiently letting things alone, of assuring the sufferer that he is entirely well, of treating the *noli me tangere* of the established chronic trouble with some gentle draught, some oily hermeneutic salve, is, to be sure, always in practice. Apart from that the fashionable treatment for Plautus just now consists in distinguishing successive revisions and rearrangements of the plays. And it is not to be denied that excellent results have been thus obtained. But it will not do to regard this treatment as a panacea, nor to let it work injustice to the poet." In these notes R. discusses chiefly the dramatic effects of the play, showing how the actors must have behaved and what the spectators must have seen, thus defending doubted passages. The changes he proposes are mostly in the way of transposition. He arranges 129, 131, 130, 133, 132, 134. He takes from *Menaechmus* and gives to *Peniculus*, 209 ff., through *alique actutum*. The parallel passages 42-73 and 604-35 are discussed together—too minutely for a report.

6. pp. 548-55. A. V. Gutschmid. *Trogus and Timagenes*. An attempt to prove that Trogus in the *Historiae Philippicae* produced substantially only a translation or an adaptation of the work of Timagenes. The existing fragments of Trogus's *De Animalibus* are all translated from Aristotle; the one fragment preserved from the *De Plantis* is a translation of Theophrastus. But in the *Historiae Philippicae* there are evidences of good research—of the use of many authorities; the work is by no means a series of extracts—every portion is composed from a mass of digested material. It is highly improbable that the Trogus of the books on natural history did all this work himself; he transferred to his own pages these evidences and results of research from the work of some learned and laborious Greek. No Greek could have been more suitable for his purpose than Timagenes; and a number of remarkable coincidences justify the conclusion that Timagenes was in fact the author used by Trogus.

7. pp. 556-66. C. Paucker. *De Particularum quarundam in Latinitate Hieronymi Usu Observationes*.

8. pp. 567-75. E. Hiller. On the Manuscripts of Tibullus. The conclusion is that the Ambrosianus is the one authoritative MS. It is not only the oldest, but also the only one entirely free from the conjectures and interpolations of the early Italian scholars. The Vaticanus is closely related to it, but there is no passage in which we can safely assume that the Vaticanus gives better information than the Ambrosianus about the reading of the archetype. The Guelferbytanus does not deserve to be regarded at all.

9. pp. 576-97. F. Becher. On the language of the *Epistulae ad Brutum*. The point of view may be made plain in the words which B. quotes from an earlier publication of his own: "Unum atque parem quidem sermonem hae epistulae cum veris Ciceronis redolent, tamen hoc discrimen inter utrasque interest, ut hic ex propria natura et nativa quadam indole ipsarum epistularum fluxerit, ille autem captatus et adscitus sit, ut incorruptae fidei speciem arriperet credulosque lectores falleret." This view is maintained through a detailed examination of the diction of the letters.

10. pp. 598-609. O. Seeck. Studies touching Early Records in Roman History. Continued from XXXVII 1. A reply to Mommsen's criticisms (Hermes, XVII) upon Seeck's view of Pliny's list of Latin cities.

11. pp. 610-27. E. Meyer. Questions touching Diodorus's Treatment of Roman History. The main conclusion is that Diodorus borrowed from an annalist who wrote Latin, older than Piso, later than the oldest of those who wrote in Greek, in particular, later than Fabius.

12. pp. 628-44. Miscellany. O. Ribbeck gives emendations to the Agamemnon of Aeschylus. 166, στίξει δ' ἐν σφ' ὕπνῳ, or ἐνθ' ὕπνῳ. 171, ἐμπαίοις στόχοισι. 382, τῶν δ' ἐπίστροφος ὀργή. 661, μή τις οὐπὲρ οὐχ ὀρῶμεν. 673, ἀκτὰς ἀκριτοφύλλους. 681, ἐκφρόνως τελοῦντας. N. Wecklein also emends the text of Aeschylus. Ag. 78, Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ πείσῃ. Cf. Hom. v. 23. χώρα is a gloss. Cf. Hesych. s. v. πείσῃ. Ag. 1633 ff., ἀλλὰ τούσδ' ἐμοὶ ματαίαν γλῶσσαν ὧδ' ἀπανθίσαι | σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ἀμαρτεῖν δαίμονος πειρωμένους | κάκβαλεῖν ἔπη τοιαῦτα τὸν κρατοῦντ' ἀ<ν>ασχετόν. Cho. 260, φθίνοντας ἐν κηκίδι. Cho. 995 ff. contain an interpolation. This is evidently the passage cited Schol. Eur. Or. 25. The true reading is to be restored as follows: ἀγρενμα θηρὸς ἢ νεβροῦ ποδένδυτον | ἀμήχανον τέχνημα καὶ δυσέκλυτον; | ἀρκυν δ' ἂν εἰποις καὶ ποδιστῆρας πέπλους. Eum. 959, ποινὰς has made its way into the text from a marginal note, displacing a word which was probably ἐχθράν. Pers. 924 ff., γόνον αὐ γέννας πενθητῆρος. κλάγξω δ' ἀρίδακρυν ἰαχάν. Sept. 513, σέβειν ἐπανχών. Suppl. 210, Ἑρμῆς δδ' ἄλλος πομπὸς Ἑλλήνων νόμοις. Suppl. 579, στεῦνται instead of σπεῦσαι. I. Bywater corrects the fragment of Aspasius in the commentary on Aristot. Eth. Nic. 4, 2, as follows: <καὶ> Μεγαρικῆς κωμωδίας μεθίεμαι. H. Seume gives a note upon the forms allowed at the end of the verse by Nonnos. G. F. Unger calls attention to a quotation from the geographer Phileas found in Steph. Byz. 10, 1: Ἀβυδοὶ τρεῖς πόλεις, ἡ καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἡ κατ' Αἰγυπτον, καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν ἢ Ἰταλίαν, ἢ οὐδετέρως καλεῖται ὡς Φιλέας, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἰαπυγίας πολιματίων ἐν Πευκετίοις οὕτως κατ' ὀρθὴν λεγόμενον Ἀβυδον. If this text be correct, Phileas cannot have been, as generally supposed, one of the earlier writers; for the calling of the nominative case ὀρθή is not older than the Stoic school. The reading, therefore, of an inferior MS, which gives μετὰ πορθμόν in place of κατ' ὀρθήν, must be considered, and κατὰ πορθμόν restored as the true reading. The little Italian town was mentioned by Phileas only upon the occasion of describing the well-known Abydos on the Hellespont. O. Busolt contradicts certain conclusions reached by Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (Philol. Untersuch. I 71 ff.) touching the liability of the Athenian allies to military service for the empire. G. Becker has discovered a fragment of Suetonius, hitherto unknown, in Scott's Waverley, ch. 10: *epulae ad senatum, prandium vero ad populum attinet*. He infers that there must be Suetoniana somewhere in an unexplored English MS. To those who know Scott's habit in respect of quotations it may well seem doubtful whether the lost MS is likely ever to be found. B. thinks an invention by Scott impossible, because at the time when Waverley was written hardly anybody ever thought of Suetonius as the author of anything besides the Lives of the Caesars. But this is not very convincing. F. Bücheler gives notes on three recently discovered short inscriptions—Oscan and Paelignian.

J. H. WHEELER.

## REVUE DE PHILOGIE, VIII 1-4.

## No. 1.

1. Pp. 1-4. The publication of the Aeneid, by Gaston Boissier. Varius and Tucca were entrusted with the revision and publication of the Aeneid, but it is not known how long a time elapsed before they completed the task. M. Boissier attempts to show by means of allusions to the Aeneid in various authors, but especially in Horace, that the publication probably occurred in A. U. C. 737 (17 B. C.), and suggests that Augustus may have caused the publication to be made on the occasion of the great festival of that year.

2. Pp. 5-10. Varroniana, by L. Havet. A dozen valuable emendations.

3. P. 10. L. Havet calls attention to a fragment of Cassius Hemina (Non. 483, *lacte*), "ex Tiberi lacte haurire," which evidently refers to the practices of the Bacchanales, and may be added to the details given, Livy, XXXIX 13, 12. Cf. Plat. Ion, 534a, αἱ βάκχαι ἀρύττονται ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν μέλι καὶ γάλα κατεχόμεναι, ἔμφορον δὲ οὔσαι οὐ.

4. Pp. 11-32. Remarks on Aeschylus, by Henri Weil. More than fifty passages critically discussed. Some of the emendations are quite convincing, all of them plausible and ingenious.

5. Pp. 34-54. On the Caeliana of Cicero, by Emil Baehrens. A critical discussion, with collation of MSS and numerous emendations. The article is indispensable for those who would study this oration.

6. Pp. 55-74. The Roman Calendar, by Gaston Boissier. The national library at Paris has recently acquired a manuscript, probably of the 12th century, containing a calendar of the first six months of the year, based upon the Fasti of Ovid. M. Boissier, after a brief discussion of the relation of this to other similar calendars, gives so much of it as is not found in Ovid. It is not without curious and interesting features.

7. Pp. 75-6. The Subjunctive of Repetition, by Max Bonnet. The author denies that the subjunctive is ever due to repetition implied, but is rather used in spite of the repetition.

8. P. 76. In Arnob. 7, 3, L. Havet proposes "Tum quor" (archaistic for *cur*) instead of "Tum quod."

9. Pp. 77-8. Note on a MS of Nonius Marcellus (No. 347 of the library of Berne), by H. Meylan.

10. Pp. 78-80. Notes on the MSS of Montpellier, by Max Bonnet.

11. Pp. 81-99. Fragments of scholia on Claudian, by C. A. Pret (communicated, with some introductory remarks, by Émile Chatelain).

12. P. 99. In Ov. Met. I 16, A. M. Desrousseaux proposes "sine pondere pondera rebus."

13. P. 100. In Cic. Phil. II 40, 103, J. Gantrelle proposes "quaero" instead of "quo ore" (Vat., "quore").

14. P. 100. L. Havet emends Arnob. 7, 10, placing "ex casibus imminetia fortuitis" immediately after "a nobis mala."



15. Pp. 101-2. Notes on Plato's *Gorgias*, by O. R. 1. In 509b-c, remove the comma after *βοήθειαν* in *πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν αἰσχίστην βοήθειαν, μὴ δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν, κτέ.* It means "this is necessarily the most disgraceful aid not to be able to render" = "this is the aid that it is most disgraceful not to be able to render." 2. In 483a, *σὺ τὸν λόγον ἐδώκαθες* is proposed instead of *σὺ τὸν νόμον, κτέ.*

16. P. 102. In *Plaut. Rud.* 49, L. Havet proposes to insert "hic" before "hospes."

17. P. 103-5. *Glossematica* (IV, V), by Gustav Loewe.

18. Pp. 106-7. Obituary notice of Gustav Loewe, by Émile Chatelain. Loewe was born Feb. 18, 1852, in Saxony. He entered the University of Leipzig in 1870, and graduated in 1874, his dissertation being the foundation of his subsequent work, "*Prodromus Corporis glossariorum latinorum*," published in 1876. In 1874 he taught in the family of Professor Wachsmuth at Göttingen, and in 1875 he was employed by Ritschl to collate the *Codex Ambrosianus* of *Plautus*. He remained in Italy, with the exception of one brief absence, until the end of 1878. He went from Italy to Spain to prepare the materials of the "*Bibliotheca patrum latinorum*" for the Academy of Sciences of Vienna. At the Escorial he worked with Charles Graux. In the autumn of 1879 he went to Leipzig, and for one semester discharged the duties of a professor. In 1880 he went to Göttingen, where he acted as "custos" of the University Library until his death, which occurred Dec. 16, 1883, in consequence of a fall. During this period he frequently visited Italy. He had been offered the chair vacated by F. Leo at Kiel, but declined on the ground that it was not his calling to teach.

Loewe was fond of prolonged close application. He never lost an opportunity of examining manuscripts, and always spent every moment of available time in studying them. He paid the closest attention to minute details.

In addition to his "*Prodromus*" he published many articles on glossaries in various journals, but especially the *Rheinisches Museum*, and left in manuscript a work entitled "*Glossae nominum*." He took an important part in the "*Analecta Plautina*" (1877), and in the new edition of some of the plays of *Plautus*, especially the *Asinaria* and *Amphitruo*. As a palaeographer his attainments were of a high order. Of this he gave proof in his publication of the "*Exempla Scripturae Visigothicae*."

In the midst of his numerous engagements he always found time to render service to others when called upon. He cultivated his science with a disinterestedness, a self-denial, a loftiness of view, which render his loss one of the most deplorable that Latin philology could have suffered.

19. Pp. 108-9. P. Thomas offers a new theory as to the meaning of "*Ajax male defensus*," in *Juv. X* 5, 84-85.

20. P. 109. L. Havet defends the MS reading in *Plaut. Rud.* 43, "*eam vidit ire e ludo fidicinio domum*." The *proceleusmaticus* is not without parallel, whereas the emendation *fidicino* violates an invariable rule:<sup>1</sup> the fifth

<sup>1</sup> How about such cases as *Trinum*. 598, *ibit statim aliquo in maxumam malam crucem*? In *Trinum*. 311, *nimio satiust, ut opust ita ted esse, quam ut animo lubet* (a trochaic tetrameter), we have a choice between the double iambic ending and the *proceleusmaticus* with hiatus. Cf. *Trinum*. 533, *ille ager fuit*; *Curcul.* 66, *nullist id ab eo petas*; 86, *non recipiat mare*

foot must not be an iambus ending with a word. "En somme, 'fidicino' est en soi un barbarisme, et change un vers correct en un vers faux; il faut donc rayer cet adjectif dans les lexiques, et, dans les éditions du Rudens, il faut revenir au texte que les scribes avaient respecté, et que les philologues ont corrompu."

21. Pp. 110-112. Book notices, by H. L., E. C., and C. Jullian.

No. 2.

1. Pp. 113-126. On the marriage of Roman soldiers, by J. B. Mispoulet. In this interesting article it is demonstrated that the theories that have hitherto been held on this subject are false. The errors have grown chiefly out of a misinterpretation of the expression "*ius conubium*," of which he shows that "il signifie la faculté de contracter un mariage régi par le droit civil romain, de telle sorte qu'un pareil mariage produira tous les effets que la loi romaine attache aux *iustae nuptiae*; le fils suivra la condition du père et sera *in patria potestate*, ce qui engendra l'agnation avec toutes ses conséquences au point de vue de la tutelle et de la succession." Those specially interested in the subject, of course, will study the original article; hence we may dispense with an abstract of it here.

2. Pp. 126-128. L. Havet argues that Verg. Georg. i. 100-101 is an interpolation, having been added (because of its "*laetissima farra*") as a grammatical illustration of "*laetus ager*" in the next verse.

3. Pp. 129-131. The Scholia of Aristophanes and the Apollodori Bibliotheca, by P. Decharme. The author argues that the scholiast did not have a copy of the Bibliotheca different from ours, but introduced the variations himself.

4. Pp. 131-132. P. D. calls attention to the fact that the emendation of *φύλην* into *φώλην* in Apoll. Bibliotheca, III 12, 6, 8, is confirmed by a scholion on Eur. Androm. 687.

5. Pp. 132-134. On *que, ve, ne*, after short *e*, by Émile Thomas. M. Harant is in error concerning the total absence of this phenomenon from Cicero's orations. Cf. In Verrem, V xlv, 118, *doloreque*; Pro Tullio, 33, *stationeque utuntur*; Pro Plancio xli, 98, *confiteareque aliquando*; De Domo, viii, 19, *Tigraneque*; Philipp. X xi, 25, *consuetudineque* (in a decree); XIII xx, 46, *maioreque*; XIV ix, 26, *ipseque in*; XIV xiv, 36, *ipseque* (decree); Pro Caecina, xxiii 64, *sineque* (acc. to the Turin palimpsest). Hence the conjecture of Baiter, *libertateque utuntur*, in De Leg. Agr. II xxxi, 86, and that of Madvig, *illeque*, in Pro. Rosc. Am. xxxix, 114, may be correct. The cases where

(emended by Brugman); 693, (tetram.), in *malam cruce*; Asin. 64, *liberis suis*; in Asin. 110 *Ubi eris*?—*Ubiquomque lubitum erit animo meo*, it is necessary to read "*eris*" to prevent *Ubi eris*, and "*erit*" or *Ubi erit* with hiatus to prevent the "double ending." The position taken by M. Havet with regard to the propriety of this emendation is unquestionably correct; but to pronounce the law of the fifth (or penultimate) foot "invariable" is to encourage the very spirit he condemns by saying that the difficulties of Plautinian versification "tiennent pour une bonne part à la précipitation avec laquelle les théoriciens modernes, et parmi eux les plus grands, se sont mis à niveler hâtivement les textes, et à y abattre de parti pris les jalons de la tradition antique." The argument from text to metre, and then from metre to text, when conducted with cautious conservatism, may lead to secure results; but if conducted rashly it will inevitably lead to confusion.

elision occurs are indicated in the above list by giving the next word. The author adds a partial list for other works of Cicero, containing for *que* twelve examples without elision and eleven with it; for *ne*, two examples of each sort; for *ve*, one without elision. This does not include the cases that occur in accepted emendations, such as Tusc. III xxviii, 67, *obduruissetque iam*. So in Caes. B. G. VI xii, 6, *que* is to be retained with the best MSS, and in B. G. V xxv, 5, *quaestoreque* should be read.

6. P. 134. To the list of examples of "malum!" λ adds Gell. xiii, 12, 8.

7. Pp. 135-144. Remarks on a tariff recently discovered at Palmyra, by R. Cagnat. This interesting discussion is intended to supplement the articles of the Marquis de Vogüé published in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1883, and since republished with additions and corrections.

8. P. 144. L. Havet shows that in the fragment of Varro found in Non. 492, *fructuis*, "socius est hostibus socius," etc., "es?" should be read for "est," the ?, however it may have been made, having been mistaken for *t*.

9. Pp. 145-146. L. Havet gives an interesting discussion of the relation of Vergil's eulogy of Italy, Georg. ii 136 ff., to a somewhat similar passage of Varro. The latter suggested the former to Vergil.

10. P. 146. L. Havet proposes "sinum" for "signum" in Plin. H. N. 33, 154. Mentor did not make *statues*.

11. Pp. 147-156. The Vaticanus 90 (T) of Lucian; remarks on the MS, and a collation of the *Mortuorum Dialogi*, by Pierre de Nolhac.

12. P. 156. L. Havet emends Laevius Ap. Charis. 288 Keil.

13. Pp. 157-160. Book notices.

14. *Revue des Revues*, pp. 1-96. Germany begun.

### No. 3.

1. Pp. 161-164. The marriage of Vespasian according to Suetonius, by Édouard Cuq. In the passage relating to this marriage (c. 3), the reading *delegatam*, found in most MSS, is to be retained. It has reference to the proceeding known as "delegatio liberti," which the author discusses.

2. Pp. 164-167. *Varroniana*, by L. Havet. Seven emendations.

3. Pp. 167-170. *Ad Hyperidis Demosthenicam*, by F. Blass. Discussion of a few fragments, the MS of which the author had hitherto been unable to see.

4. P. 170. *Ad Ciceronis Caelianam*, by E. Baehrens. In §21, for "nauare" read "venditare."

5. Pp. 171-172. On Plat. Rep. VIII xi, 558 a, by H. Weil. In the sentence *ἡ οὐκ ὄρω . . . ὥσπερ ἦρω*, omit the commas and *καὶ* after *μέσφ*. The *ἦρω* is an invisible Hero rendering service in battle. The Greeks sometimes left an empty space for one in their line of battle. The *Etymologicum Magnum* gives *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος* as one etymology of *ἦρω*.

6. Pp. 172-183. In Cic. pro Rabirio V 17, L. Havet proposes "vestra" for "una" with "vindicta."

7. P. 173. Pierre de Nolhac makes an addition and some corrections to his article in the Revue de Philologie VIII, pp. 147 ff.

8. Pp. 174-176. Book notices.

9. Revue des Revues, pp. 97-208. Germany (completed), Austria, Belgium, Denmark, United States, France (begun).

No. 4.

1. Pp. 177-186. On *equites equo privato*, by J. B. Mispoulet. The author maintains that there was no body of horsemen of this sort, and that the name itself never had any existence. He denies that there was any *ordo equester* or any *census equester* before the time of the Gracchi. If his premises are true, his arguments are, taken as a whole, quite convincing, though some of them seem to have but little force.

2. Pp. 187-190. The Manuscripts of Montpellier (second article), by Max Bonnet.

3. Pp. 190-191. Ad Hyperidis Demosthenicam (second article), by F. Blass. A revision of part of the first article. (See above.)

4. P. 192. Book notices.

5. Revue des Revues, pp. 209-365. France (completed), Great Britain, Greece, Italy, Holland, Russia, Sweden and Norway. Table of Contents.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

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ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Zweiter Jahrgang.

Heft 1.

From the 'Jahresbericht der Redaktion' at the end of this number, pp. 146-148, we are pained to learn that this undertaking, which has already done so much for Latin scholarship, has not met with the pecuniary support which it certainly deserves. The number of paying subscribers at the beginning of this year is said to be only 267; of these only 6 fall to America. Surely this is not creditable to the scholarship of our country, when we consider that this is a journal which ought to be in every college library and in the hands of every progressive Latin teacher.

This number begins with an article by Wölfflin, dedicated to the venerable Professor Georges on the occasion of his recent Doctorjubiläum, discussing "Frustra, nequiquam und Synonyma," pp. 1-24. *Frustra* and *nequiquam* are both found in Plautus. *Frustra*, in form a comparative like *dextra*, is of course to be connected with *fraus* and the participle *frausus*, having the meaning of deceiving one's self or being deceived in one's expectations. *Frustra laborare*, used first by Lucretius (IV 1099), continues in use down to a late period, while *nequiquam laborare* only occurs in Sil. Ital. 16, 508. In prose *frustra temptare* is more usual, but Vergil (Aen. VIII 232) ventures on *nequiquam t.*; so after him Livy, Lucan and Silius Italicus. *Frustra esse*, so common in archaic

writers and those under archaic influence, is entirely avoided by Cicero and Caesar. The first author to use *frustra est* followed by an infinitive is Publilius Syrus, while Sallust is the first to use *id, res, ea res* as the subject of *est* in this phrase. After him other prose writers introduce various subjects as *inceptum, spes, curatio, ingenia, consilium*, etc., until Ulpian, Dig. 33, 4, 1, 8 uses an entire clause, *quidquid demonstratae rei additur frustra est*. Whether the *qui* of *nequiquam* (*nequicquam*) is of ablative origin or accusative admits of doubt. (On p. 89 Wölfflin calls attention to Studemund's statement that only the form *nequiquam* occurs in the Ambrosianus of Plautus, a fact which rather favors the ablative origin.) No vital distinction can be drawn between *frustra* and *nequiquam*. Cicero uses the latter word only twice, in pro Quinct. 79, where there is a reminiscence of Ter. Heaut. 2, 3, 104, and in Tusc. 3, 59, where he translates a verse of Euripides. This may seem a little remarkable, as Sallust and Livy use *nequiquam* freely, and Caesar uses it twice, *frustra* ten times. But Nepos, Velleius, both the Senecas, Columella, Celsus, both Plinies and Suetonius also avoid it, and Tacitus and Quintilian each uses it but once, which amounts to a stylistic veto. Wölfflin ascribes this avoidance to the influence of juristic Latin. As a consequence in prose the word soon became obsolete. The rare cases where it occurs may perhaps be due to the reading of Sallust and Livy. Servius deemed it necessary to explain it by *sine causa* (Verg. Aen. V 81). In later Latin poetry *nequiquam* is not much more frequent than *frustra*, and the fact that it is so at all is perhaps due to the greater influence of Vergil. Lucretius always uses *n.* at the beginning of the Hexameter. In Vergil its position is much freer. Vergil too is the only author to use *nequiquam* with a negative (Aen. VIII 370; Ciris, 225).

Even *frustra* would seem to have been in danger of extinction in the later Latin, and like *nequiquam* it has left no trace in the Romance languages. Adverbial forms and phrases which took the place of these two words are *inaniter, irritio, in cassum, cassum, casse, casso, in vanum* (Fr. *en vain*, Sp. *en vano*), *in vano, vane, in vacuum, vacue, sine causa, ingratiss.* To trace, as Wölfflin does, the rise and respective use of each of these would lead us too far. It is interesting to observe that a comparison of Plautus with Terence indicates that long before Cicero the *sermo urbanus* had a tendency to exclude *nequiquam*. Terence uses it but once, *frustra* eleven times. Plautus has *f.* nineteen times, *n.* thirteen times.

Paul Greyer, pp. 25-47, gives some "Beiträge zur Kenntniss des gallischen Lateins." Little has been done in the way of defining the characteristics of Gallic Latin. The fact that Gaul so early became penetrated with Roman culture, and that down to a late period its rhetoricians stood in so high repute in Italy, may prevent our expecting many evidences of provincialism in its earlier literary monuments. Later sources are the Lex Salica, juristic formulae, the Merovingian records, Gregory of Tours, and Fredegar, and of especial importance the grammarian Vergilius Maro of the sixth century. The correct use of prepositions is now-a-days one of the hardest things for foreigners to master, and it was so for Gallic writers. Vergilius Maro confuses *con* = *cum* and *apud*. Sulpicius Severus nearly three centuries before had used *loqui apud* in the sense of *loqui cum*. In the Lex Salica and later documents *apud* is frequently used for *cum*. Gregory of Tours seems to have been aware of this



mistake so frequent with his countrymen, and being on his guard against it, he fell into the opposite error of using *cum* for the correct *apud*. Compare e. g. Hist. Franc. IX 10, *magnum cum regibus honorem habere* with Tac. Hist. I 64, *Valens nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit*. Fredegar falls into the same error. Again *apud* is confused with *ab*, due to the fact that in the pronunciation *apud* after loss of *d* and *o* was actually reduced to *ab* (especially in South France, in North France to *od*, from \*avod, \*avd, \*aud). So we find *elevatus est apud Wulfradum ducem*, for *ab Wulfrado ducem* (Continuator Fredegarii, pars I, c. 93). For this *apud* too Gregory substitutes *cum*. Cf. Hist. Franc. VII 34, *me cum omnibus (= ab omnibus) electum esse regem*. Peculiar contracted forms of the possessive pronouns, *ma, sa, tus*, etc., attested by Vergilius, are next discussed, and the use, frequent in the Merovingian records, of *suus* for *eius* and *eorum*. The use of *eius* for *suus*, on the other hand, is rare, but there are many cases of the plural *eorum* (later *illorum*, Fr. leur) for *suus*, and in the eighth century *illorum* and *eorum* were probably no longer felt to be genitive forms. At any rate they are used for other oblique cases. The dropping of final *t* in verbal forms, so common in Italy, is not a characteristic of Gallic Latin until a very late period (12th century), but a subjunctive present in *it* (sometimes *et*) for *at* is very frequent (so in French *a* is weakened to *e*, while in the other Romance languages the *a* has been preserved in the subj. pres. of the second and third conjugations). Numerous vulgar forms (Gallic and Italian) of *sum*, *possum* and *volo* conclude the article.

Franz Harder, p. 47, proposes to read *teque aquipotens* (for *omnipotens*) *Neptune* in the verse of Turpilius quoted Cic. Tusc. IV 72.

Perhaps the most attractive article of the number is Thielmann's, pp. 48-89, "*Habere mit dem Infinitiv und die Entstehung des romanischen Futurums*," which is to be continued. It is now well established that the Romance future is the result of a composition with *habeo*, e. g. Ital. *canterò* (*cantarò*) = *cantar(e)-ho* = *cantare habeo*. To derive it from the future perfect *cantavero* is impossible for many reasons. The development of the future meaning within the Latin itself is now most clearly shown by Thielmann. He discusses the use of *habeo* with the infinitive under two heads, first, where it expresses *capability* or *possibility*, and second, where it expresses *necessity*. It is from this latter usage that the future notion is ultimately derived. Although so closely corresponding with the Greek use of *ἐχω*, *habeo dicere* cannot properly be called a Grecism. It was taken from the vulgar language, and our first instance of it is found in Cicero's pro Sex. Roscio (§ 100), a speech which is well known to contain many vulgar elements. Plautus does not use it, and even Cornificius, II 27, 43, has *quod dicant non habere*.

In the Orations Cicero only uses *dicere* thus with *habeo* followed by *de* or an indirect question, but in the Letters the usage is extended to *scribere* and *polliceri*. Even here *habeo quod* is much more frequent. With two exceptions, *habeo* in Cicero always precedes the infinitive. (In the sense of necessity, developed later than Cicero, the opposite order obtains.) No example of this construction is found in Caesar, Catullus or Livy. Lucretius has *h. dicere*, Horace *h. suadere*. Ovid uses it twice, and Augustus, according to Suetonius (Aug. 58), said *habeo precari*. It is used by Gellius and Apuleius, evidently not in imitation of

Plautus or Cato, but directly drawn from the living speech. As one might expect, this use of *habeo* is greatly extended in Latin translations of Greek originals made in the second or third centuries, and no one uses it more freely than Tertullian. We even find a forerunner of the Ital. *non ho che dire*, *non hanno dande vivere*, in such a sentence as *neque in quo haurire habes* = ὄντλημα ἔχεις.

*Habeo* with the infin. in the sense of necessity is found first in the elder Seneca, Contr. I, I, 19, *quid habui facere?* = *quid debui facere?* Compare Cornif. IV 34, *quid me facere convenit*, and Verg. Ecl. I, 41, *quid facerem?* Side by side with this construction we have, beginning with Seneca and continuing for several centuries, *habeo dicendum*, which, however, was crowded out, and had no survival in the Romance languages. *Necesse habeo*, used first in negative and afterwards in positive sentences, is another expression which even into the sixth century disputes the ground with the simple *habeo*. The African Latinity developed in a surprising way the use of *habeo* with infinitive. Tertullian furnishes over 80 examples, and of these more than 60 show a passive infinitive, a fact not without significance, e. g. the prophecy Ies 53, 7, *sicut ovis ad occisionem ducetur et quasi agnus coram tondente se . . . non aperiet os suum*, appears in Tertullian in this abbreviated form: *tamquam ovis ad victimam adduci habens, et tamquam ovis coram tondente sic os non aperturus*. Comparing *adduci habens* with *aperturus*, we see at once that it takes the place of a future passive participle. There was no need to change *aperturus* to *aperire habens*, and hence in part the excess of passive infinitives. Thielmann gives many illustrations, which cannot be cited here, showing the development of the future meaning.

Wölfflin, pp. 90-99, discusses the use of the adverbial *cetera, alia, reliqua, omnia, cuncta*. *Cetera* is no more to be regarded as a Grecism than *ceterum*, and to explain it there is no need to resort to an ellipsis of *quod ad*. The singular *ceterum* is not used by Caesar nor by Cicero except in ad Quint. frat. 2, 12, 1, but Sallust uses it thrice in the Catilina and 50 times in the Jugurtha. Hexameter poets naturally preferred *cetera*. *Cetera* is used with verbs, and much more frequently with adjectives. Vergil first connected it with nouns (Aen. III 594), and in the Silver Age this is confined to poets. *Alia* is said to have been used by Sallust in his histories. Cicero uses it in his philosophical dialogues, but not in his orations, in place of a second *partim*. Its use at all times seems to have been very restricted, *reliqua* is still more rare. *Omnia* was first used by Vergil (Aen. IV 558; IX 650), but not taken up by the prose writers of the Silver Age, although after Fronto it is used sparingly. In poetry too it is rare. *Cuncta* for *omnia* is poetical, and so *multa* for *multum*; possibly the adverbial use of *pleraque* was confined to Gellius.

Gröber, pp. 100-107, continues his list of 'Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter' through the letter D. We notice in syllables long by position, the following quantities assigned, which differ from the pronunciation generally assumed to be correct: *dēns, dictus* (although the Italian *detto* favors *dictus*), *dignus*.

A further specimen of the Thesaurus Latinus prepared by Hauler, pp. 108-9, contains the words *ab-aliud, ab-alter-utrum, abambulare, abamita, abanet, abante, and abarcere*.

A list of over 100 new words beginning with *a* to be added to the Lexica is given on pp. 110-15. Pp. 116-20 contain suggestive contributions by Buecheler, "zu Plautus, Seneca und Persius," in which certain figurative uses of *turtur*, *turturilla* and *titi* not dwelt upon in the Lexica are richly illustrated. Theodor Korsch takes *decreto* in Propertius, 2, 32, 31, to be an abstract substantive from *decreasco*, so that *sine decreto* nearly equals *sine capitis deminutione*. In the Miscellen, pp. 121-136, will be found short articles on *culleolum*, *callicula*, *aris*, *speculum*, *trux* (O. Ribbeck); *purare* (F. Schöll); *paulum*, *pusillum*, *parum* und Synonyma (G. Helmreich); *Agnaphus Exagillum* (M. Bonnet); *Tranix* (K. Hofmann); *spacus*; Ital. *spago* (K. Sittl); *instabilis*, *innabilis*, Ovid. Met. I 16 (C. Nauck); *pauciloquus*, *gremia* (L. Havet); *est videre* (Wölfflin). Pp. 137-45 are taken up with reviews.

M. WARREN.

GERMANIA. Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde. Herausgegeben von KARL BARTSCH. Wien, 1884-85.

Fedor Bech continues his proposed emendations in Ettmüller's edition of Heinrich v. Meissen (Frauenlob), cf. American Journal of Philology, Vol. III. Other articles on the subject are to be added. The present one is specially devoted to Sprüche 43-126 inclusive.

H. Herzog has an article, "Urkundliches zu Mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern," in which he throws some light upon the lives of minor Middle High German poets. The writers mentioned are Wetzlar, Absalon, Goeli, Pfeffel and Winli. The author of the legend of Saint Margaret, spoken of by Rudolf v. Ems in his Alexander as "min friunt her Wetzlar," seems to have been the Wetzlar of Heidelberg whose name, with that of other members of the family, occurs in several documents, mostly of Constance, during 1236-69. The hereditary castle of the family lies to the northwest of Bischofszell in the canton Thurgau. In "min friunt Absalon" of Rudolf v. Ems we have a poet Absalon from the immediate neighborhood of Rudolf's home, who is mentioned in three documents of Salem 1262-64. "Her Goeli" was probably the Diethelmus Goeli who appears in Basle documents of 1254-76. The only "her Pfeffel" that can be authenticated during the lifetime of his patron Duke Frederic of Austria (†1246), occurs in a document of 1243, in the archives of Aargau. Winli was evidently the "Otwinus ioculator" of an undated document in the Wettingen archive of Aarau (1248).

K. Bartsch prints and comments upon some fragments of a poetical version of the Saint Nicholas legend from the 13th century which he found in Kolmar.

F. Hornemann, in an interesting paper, "Zu Walther's Vokalspiel" (Lachmann 75<sup>ss</sup>, Pfeiffer 2, Paul 55), dissents from Wilmanns, who maintains that the Vokalspiel must necessarily have been composed in Meissen (cf. Wilmanns, Leben und Dichten Walther's v. d. Vogelweide). Wilmanns' researches upon the subject of Walther have been so extensive, his knowledge is so large and accurate, and his criticisms and opinions generally so sound and discriminating, that one is apt to refer to his writings as good authorities. We confess that in this case we side with Hornemann. It is by no means clear to us why the poem could not have been written at some other court. Wilmanns adopts the

view of Zacher (*Neue Jahrbücher für Philol. und Pädag.*), who thinks that the allusion to the Cistercian convent *Toberlû* in the closing rhyme of the poem could only have been appreciated by the followers of the pomp-loving court of Meissen, since only they knew of the poor and gloomy convent in its forest loneliness. But was *Toberlû* at the time when Walther wrote the poem—which no doubt occurred after his departure from the court of Philip of Suabia—such a proverbial abode of repelling poverty and gloom among the people of Meissen, and utterly unknown to other countries? This seems hardly possible, for in 1212 it was known in Meissen as richly endowed and highly honored as a place of pure and holy life, favored by the Margrave and his predecessors. An allusion in the sense of Zacher would hardly have been complimentary to the sovereign at whose court Walther was staying. The close intercourse of the court of Meissen with those of Austria and Thuringia would also argue that the highly honored *Toberlû* was not quite unknown in those countries. Poverty, winter, and all absence of knightly practices had pressed heavily upon Walther, and he finally exclaims:

“ê daz ich lange in solher drû  
beklemmet waere, als ich bin nû  
ich würde ê mûnech ze *Toberlû*.”

So rather a *monk* than such a condition. Here lies the pith. He, the minstrel and knight, whose very existence was bound up in the splendor of court life, would turn *monk*, and a Cistercian monk withal, whose austere simplicity was the very opposite of court life. Whether a monk in *Toberlû* or any other convent, or whether that convent was rich or poor, was immaterial, but it was not unimportant to the rhyme to find a convent ending in *û* (cf. Wackernagel and Simrock editions of Walther). *Toberlû* was the only Cistercian convent in Germany which terminated in that vowel.

Reinhold Köhler, in a paper, “Zur Legende von der Königin von Saba oder der Sibylla und dem Kreuzholze,” describes and comments upon some mediaeval fresco-paintings and stories illustrative of the legend of the Queen of Sheba, and the miracle performed upon her when she refused to cross Kedron on a bridge constructed of the Holy Rood, which, as had been revealed to her, was destined to form the cross of the Saviour. Two paintings on the subject seem to have escaped all who have heretofore treated the legend. The first is found in the church of Saint Barbara in Kuttenberg, Bohemia, and the second in the Santa Croce church in Florence. A woodcut of the former accompanies the article. Köhler in a second paper furnishes the first strophe of a popular song referring to “*Elbegast der Meisterdieb*” (cf. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. V). The strophe is taken from Bartsch’s edition of “*Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Handschrift*,” and was printed as early as 1792 in the periodical *Bragur*, II, 331. Since that time it has been frequently mentioned in connection with the *Elbegast* saga, but no one hitherto has called attention to the fact that the story as told in this strophe is made to do service in a carnival play of Jacob Ayser (†1605), entitled “*Die zwei paar verwechselten Eheleut*.” The fairy *Elbegast* is here changed to a wizard *Nigromanticus*.

Hermann Dunger devotes a lengthy article to the explanation of the expression “*Hörner aufsetzen*” and “*Hahnrei*.” Of an unfaithful wife it is

said "Sie setzt (pflanzt) ihrem Manne Hörner auf," i. e. she bestows a pair of horns upon her husband, and the deceived husband is called "Hahnrei." The expressions have never been satisfactorily explained, although most languages, even the Greek, at least the later Greek (cf. Artemidor, *Oneirokritika*, II 12), show a similar saying. The dictionaries of Grimm (IV, 2, p. 1819), Sanders and others fail to do so, and Kluge in his new etymological dict. p. 120, rejects all former explanations and marks the origin as obscure. Dunder arrives at the following result. "Hahnrei" as the name for the deceived husband is simply a transferred meaning, its primary signification was *gallus castratus*, capon. The saying "Hörner aufsetzen" is derived from the former barbarous habit of cutting off the spurs of the animal and inserting them into an incision made in the comb, where, as it seems, they became firmly attached and even grew larger. This was done to distinguish the capons from the other fowls. Dunder takes "Hahnrei" as a compound of Hahn and Reh (cf. run = equus castratus, Schiller u. Lübben, *Mittelniederdeut. Wörterb.*)

Jakob Baechtold prints valuable fragments of the Tristan epic which were found, together with some verses of Parzival, upon the binding of documents from the years 1580-82, in the Zürich archives. Of the three well preserved parchment leaves one contains the Parzival and two the Tristan verses. Among the orthographical peculiarities of these fragments is the almost constant use of the long /, only in a few instances the short s is employed in the auslaut. The circumflex is frequently used and often marks the umlaut of long vowels. Characteristic is the resistance to umlaut. The Alemannic *sch* stands invariably for *sch*. Media for tenuis occurs in the auslaut, etc. Dialectic coloring points to an Alemannic origin of the MS.

C. M. Blaas has popular sayings from Lower Austria, and v. Wagner sends an article entitled "Ueber die Jagd des grossen Wildes im Mittelalter." v. Wagner's paper specially treats of the dogs used in the chase of that time. To a certain extent this was done before him by Alwin Schultz, in his "Höfisches Leben," yet the article touches upon several points not mentioned by Schultz.

A minor communication from K. Bartsch discusses the word "Erbfall." It occurs twice with Luther, and Dietz in his glossary to the reformer's writings (I 555), cites it in the sense of "der von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht forterbende Fall Adams." K. Zangemeister in his edition of Luther's Schmalkald articles (p. xi) calls attention to the fact that the Heidelberg MS clearly shows that Luther himself changed "Erbfall" to "Erbsal." In the Psalms (Wittenberg, 1539) the word is spelled *Erbfal*, where the single *l* looks suspicious and is no doubt a printer's error. Luther always doubles the *l* in *fall* (cf. Dietz I 627). Zangemeister asks whether the *sal* in *Erbsal* may not be the ancient *die sal* = traditio. This Bartsch thinks possible, yet the masc. gender of the word would show that to Luther and his time *sal* was merely a derivative syllable.

The Miscellany has a contribution from W. Hiraëus that explains some passages in the macaronic poem "Floia," which its editor, Dr. E. Sabell, in Berlin, has found difficult to understand. Hiraëus' treatment of the origin, etc., of macaronic verses contains nothing new.



A very valuable contribution, "Die beiden Sagenkreise von Flore und Blanscheflur," by H. Herzog, begins the second number. The prominence which the story of Flore and Blanscheflur occupies in the literature of the Occident led early to discussions regarding its probable home. Opinions upon this were divided for a long time, till in 1856 E. du Méril, in the preface to his edition of the Old French poems (*Floire et Blanceflor*, Paris, 1857), recognized its Byzantine origin, in which he was recently supported by Zumbini in an essay "il Filocopo del Boccaccio," in the *Nuova Antologia* of 1879, '80. The saga was carried to the West by the Crusaders, and here occurs to us in two forms. In the first (version aristocratique, du Méril) the older form of the story is preserved in its main features, in the second (version populaire) important traits are given up, and others, often totally at variance with the older version, substituted. Herzog agrees with E. Sommer (cf. preface to Fleck's *Flore und Blanscheflur*, Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1846), who considers the popular version simply remodelled upon the older version aristocratique to suit the taste of the masses. This change, however, was already made in the East, and the two versions entered upon their journey to the West independent of each other, the older in advance of the other took France, the remodelled version Italy, for its second home. From these points they entered the different literatures of the West. All subsequent versions based upon the remodelled form were in turn influenced again by the first and older form. Herzog's article treats exhaustively the points of difference in the various versions, and contains a mass of information upon the subject. The German prose version of Fleck's Middle H. German poem (Zurich MS) is appended.

K. v. Bahder publishes the Ermlitz fragment of "König Rother." The MS (two parchment leaves of the 13th century) belongs at present to Dr. Apel in Ermlitz. The dialect is Bavarian.

F. Liebrecht sends "Der Wind in der Dichtung und auch anderswo," a theme fraught with opportunities to the satirist, and G. Klee prints a new version of the 38th story in Grimm's fables, entitled "Die Hochzeit der Frau Fuchsin."

"Zum König Rother," by K. v. Bahder, is the first paper in the third number. The article takes up in detail some of the writer's opinions regarding this poem, touched upon in his introduction to the edition of *König Rother* (Halle, 1884). It has been generally accepted that the original poem was written in Bavaria by a Rhinelander. The dialect which he mainly employed was the Middle Frankish, yet in some cases Bavarian forms were introduced by him. The time of the origin of the poem may be best determined by comparing its rhymes with those of other poems of the 12th century, and these show that it was written before 1160, probably 1152. With Edzardi's idea that the poem was based upon an older one that had its origin on the Rhine, Bahder disagrees. A comparison of the Heidelberg MS with other fragmentary MSS clearly proves, however, that the original was later expanded. The language in which the Heidelberg MS, the only complete version, transmits the poem is likewise not the same throughout, but differs from the original by mixing the Middle Frankish with forms which are not of Bavarian origin, and which were, as Bahder thinks, introduced by copyists. The poem came from Bavaria to the Rhine, was copied in Lower Franconia, and served in this somewhat changed form as

the MS from which a Rhinefrank made a new copy—the Heidelberg MS. Both copyists left traces of their own dialect.

K. G. Andresen prints a list of family names derived from the stems *hlod* (*κλωτός*), *hlud*, *liud*, and L. Bossler in "Ortsnamen von Starkenburg und Rheinhessen," gives the meaning of a large number of places in the southern provinces of the granddukedom of Hesse.

F. Holthausen publishes a Lithuanian story related to the fables gathered by Seiler and printed in his *Ruodlieb* edition, and A. Jeitteles follows with a minor communication, "Färbemittel und andere recepte." These German recipes he found written on some parchment leaves containing other matter, mostly in Latin, at the Innsbruck University library.

G. Vielhaber proposes emendations in the "Speculum sapientiae Cyrilli." The book was published by Dr. J. G. Th. Grässe five years ago in the 148th vol. of the "Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart."

A short paper of Dr. Widmann, "Eine Handschrift der Gesta Romanorum zu Wiesbaden," treats of a MS (25 leaves) found with other matter in a codex of the 15th century at present in possession of the Nassau Historical Society. The MS contains 72 stories from the Gesta Romanorum.

A. Gombert offers "Beiträge zur Altersbestimmung der in Weigands Wörterbuch enthaltenen Neuhochdeutschen Wortformen" (cf. Amer. Journ. of Phil. Vol. V, p. 136). We note the following German words: *Dortig* in the form *durtig* cited in Grimm Wörterb. from Aventinus rudimenta (1512), Gombert finds in Aventinus (1515) *dortig*. *Ehrerbietung* (in Weigand 1537) occurs in "Buch der Beispiele" about 1480. *Gleichfalls* (gleiches falls) is found as early as 1557. *Mehrimalen* occurs in 1525, *zu mehrmalen* as early as 1470.

Felix Liebrecht reviews and comments favorably upon Hugo Gehring's "Islendzk Aeventyri, isländische Legenden, Novellen und Märchen," Halle, 1882-83; and Reinhold Becker, the author of "Zum altheimischen Minnesang," replies to some severe criticisms which Burdach, the reviewer of the book, published in the Anzeiger f. d. Alterthum X, p. 13. After a lengthy refutation of Burdach's views, Becker concludes that the only thing he has learned from the review is the pretty commandment of Lehrs: "Thou shalt not take the name of method in vain." Burdach has quoted but not followed this. If he would teach method to others he should have some himself, etc. Wilmanns, who also criticised the book, has, in some instances, as Becker thinks, proved with a great expenditure of acuteness what is really self-evident.

The Miscellany contains a high tribute to the late Svend Hensleb Gruntvig from the pen of Felix Liebrecht.

A. Gombert continues in the fourth number his "Beiträge zur Altersbestimmung Neuhochdeutscher Wortformen." We note H. G. Mummerei, Weigand's Dict. finds its first use in 1716. It occurs in Hans Sachs as early as 1521, with Luther in 1524. *Pestilenzisch* Weigand cites from Kramer in 1678, it is found in Steinhöwel's Decamerone 1470. *Zustand* in Weigand first in 1678. It occurs in prints of 1602-14 (cf. Cohn catalogue 1882-83).

W. List sends an unpublished fragment of Maerlant's *Rymbybel* from the library of the Strassburg university, and Wilhelmy prints some Middle Dutch verses of the 14th century in possession of the ducal archives in Karlsruhe.

Czerny and Bartsch print "Ein Gedicht aus dem XV Jahrhundert," and "Liebeslied" from the same century. The last, found by Bartsch in the library of Zeitz, has some music notes attached.

E. Weller sends additional matter "Zum repertorium typographicum" (cf. *Am. Journ. of Phil.* Vol. II, p. 391), and Reinhold Köhler offers a correction in Xanthippus "Spreu" (München, 1883), p. 20. X. has the proverb "Yamer lernt weinen," in Pfaff's edition of *Tristrant* and *Isalde*, p. 99 = "Amor (Liebes-Kummer) lernt weinen." If he had consulted *Wander's Lex. of Germ. proverbs* he would have found that *Eucharius Eyerling* in his "Proverbiorum Copia" (Eisleben, 1601-4), quotes the proverb "Jammer lernt weinen" twice, and thus it should read in *Tristrant* instead of "Amor lernt weinen" (cf. *Simrock, Deutsche Volksbücher*, vol. 5).

L. Schmidt, after reading Hübner's article on "Arminius," modifies his own views (cf. *Am. Journ. Phil.* Vol. V, p. 135) regarding the name. He concludes: "Wir müssen also jedenfalls in Arminius ein römisches Cognomen (nicht gentile, wie ich annahm) suchen."

J. Teige, "Zur Zeitbestimmung der gereimten Übersetzung des sogenannten *Dalimil*" (cf. *American Journ. of Philology*, Vol. V, p. 136), places the second and shorter translation of *Dalimil* between the years 1360-62, and R. Rade calls attention to some errors in the *M. H. G. Wörterbuch* (Müller und Zarncke). The name *Jesus* occurs but rarely in *Wolfram*. In the *Parzival* only twice (113, 19 and 219, 28). The instances cited in the *M. H. G. Wörterb.* (I, 772): 610, 611, 625, 654, 667, 681, 769, 786, 792, 821 are wrong and refer to "Joflanz." Under this heading the numbers 686 and 692 must be changed to 786 and 792.

A minor communication, "Schreibverse und Sprüche," from MSS in Frankfurt a. M., and the customary classified list of recent publications on the field of Germanic philology, close the fourth number.

C. F. RADDATZ.

## BRIEF MENTION.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM'S work is always careful, thoughtful, suggestive, and his edition of *Herodotos* (*Books VI and VII*, Harpers), though not elaborated with so much love as his *Phaeacians* (see A. J. P. I, p. 468), is worthy of special note as a real contribution to the study of his author. The grammatical observations are especially valuable, and show minute knowledge of the whole field. Much is due to his personal research; how much does not always appear, as his plan has precluded his giving credit to others, but as he has made exceptions here and there, it would have been as well if he had referred the statement in regard to the articular infinitive in Herodotos to Dr. Allinson, who was at the pains of making the count (*Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* 1878, p. 14). The exact statistic is not at hand, but one of my students made an examination as to the use of the third attributive position in Lucian, which led me to modify my statement in Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I, c. 6, 7. Professor Merriam's note (VI 22, 3), coincides with my original impression. This is not the place to discuss the troublesome question of 'coincident action' in the participle, to which Professor Merriam comes back, and it must suffice to remark simply that in practice it would be better to keep those sentences in which the actions coincide, as with *φθάνω*, *τυγχάνω*, and the like apart from those in which the participle represents the object of sensation, as after *ἀκούω*, *ὄρω*. The failure to do this has obscured the results of his acute observation (*comp.* VI 29, 11 and 129, 21). Cobet accuses Herodotos of a lax use of the imperfect, a point that it would have been well to meet more fully than Professor Merriam has done; but each man maps out his grammatical work in his own way, and Professor Merriam has given us so much that is valuable that one is not disposed to quarrel about minor matters. Of especial interest are the rhetorical notes, in which good use has been made of the Greek rhetoricians, who have until lately been too much neglected. Perhaps, however, it would have been well to warn young students by putting pseudo- before Longinus. The judicious use of epigraphic evidence is also to be noticed as a good feature. Of translation Professor Merriam has been somewhat too chary, considering the stage at which Herodotos is taken up, and the commentary is so good that we wish there were more of it. The proof-reading seems to be even better than in the White and Seymour series; at least a fairly careful reading of the notes has only revealed trifles that correct themselves. Here and there the references are not fortunate, but on the whole a better edition within the limits is seldom found, and those limits are not made, as is so often the case, to exclude all that is original, penetrating, suggestive.

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This number was nearly made up before the reception of PROFESSOR HÜBNER'S monumental work (*Exempla Scripturae Epigraphicae Latinae a Caesaris Dictatoris Morte ad aetatem Iustiniani. Consilio et auctoritate Acade-*

*miae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae. Edidit AEMILIUS HUEBNER. Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum Auctarium. Berolini: apud Georgium Reimerum MDCCCLXXXV*), and a fuller notice must be reserved. In the *Prolegomena* (pp. i-lxxxiv) the story of the book is told and its plan unfolded. It is a record of wonderful energy and zeal, and a masterly exhibit of unique attainments in the forms of Latin epigraphy. The vast material had never been handled before in this way. The rude woodcuts of the earlier time, the seductive but inaccurate copperplates of a subsequent period, only gave sporadic specimens, and it was not until Ritschl called emphatic attention to the importance of epigraphic palaeography that the study had its new birth. Those who were students at Bonn in 1852-3 will remember the lively interest excited by the epigraphic programmes published at that time, especially by the paper on the noted inscription of the Duellian Columna Rostrata, with its admirable lithographic illustration. It was from Ritschl that Professor Hübner caught his enthusiasm for epigraphic studies, and this volume, beginning as it does with Caesar's death, is the sequel of the *Priscae Latinitatis Monumenta Epigraphica*. In the prolegomena we read of the museums that were ransacked, of the technical difficulties that had to be overcome, the weather-worn stones that resisted the seductions of the squeeze, the high-perched monuments that could not be reached by ladders. The editor has an army of obliging friends—and no man deserves them better—without whose active assistance the work could not have been accomplished. But to so thorough an expert the denial of personal vision at any point must have been painful. The questions of detail to be solved were numberless. What was to be renounced in conformity with any reasonable economy? What was to be secured at all hazards? To all such questions Professor Hübner makes us parties, and thus gives a personal interest to his work and enlists our sympathies while adding to our knowledge. The drawings were made in outline after squeezes, and when squeezes failed, after photographs, and then reproduced by phototypography. The scale of the drawing is carefully indicated in every instance, and though it has been found necessary in long inscriptions to give only specimen lines, the whole inscription is transliterated in full below, for the pedantry which would make the use of such a book difficult for the beginner is foreign to a man of Professor Hübner's wide sympathies. Besides, even the most experienced epigrapher would like to be spared the trouble of hunting up the full text through the long series of the CIL. The chapters on the various branches of epigraphy, the artisan and his tools, the blunders of the cutters and the blending of styles, are followed by what is technically of the very highest importance—an exhaustive treatment of the forms of the letters, in the discernment of which Professor Hübner's skill and experience give him conclusive authority. But only an epigrapher can justly measure the work of an epigrapher, and it would be a mistake to anticipate the detailed review. It is becoming more and more evident year by year that American scholars are not content to leave this field entirely to their European colleagues, and though nothing can be a substitute for immediateness of vision, still what can be done should be done, and



such a work as Professor Hübner's brings antiquity much nearer to every one of us.

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PROFESSOR WILKINS's edition of the *Epistles of Horace* (Macmillan & Co., 1885) shows familiarity with the 'literature,' which is nowadays an indispensable recommendation, and brings into the student's sphere many much needed corrections of vague or mistaken notions as to orthography, etymology and construction. The more simple phenomena are solved by reference to Roby's Grammar, which enjoys an extraordinary authority in England, and to the P. S. G., which darkens counsel by terminology. In more difficult questions the teacher or advanced scholar is brought into contact with more special works, and is thus led to acquire a larger knowledge of what has been done than is always comfortable to a certain order of minds. The text is conservative, but Dr. Wilkins is by no means superstitious in his conservatism, and adheres to the tradition only because he cannot put faith in the emendations that have been proposed, and the reasons for the unfaith that is in him he knows how to give clearly and cogently. The revision of the current parallels, which he has undertaken, is much needed everywhere; and as the difficulty in commenting on Horace is to omit, no one will complain that the familiar *hederæ sequaces* of Pers. Prol. 6 is missing at Ep. 1, 3, 25. If it was needful to mention river gods at Ep. 2, 1, 193, then Verg. Georg. 3, 29, or Ovid, A. A. 1, 223 would have been a little nearer than the passages actually cited. Perhaps the well-worn *dimidium facti qui coepit habet* (1, 2, 40) might have been lighted up a little by Auson. Epigr. 83: *Incipe: dimidium facti est coepisse; superfit | dimidium: rursum hoc incipe et efficies*. There are some indications that the commentary was committed to the printer as it was prepared. So notes are repeated, as 1, 2, 46 and 1, 17, 36, and the same subject is treated with different degrees of fullness, as on 1, 1, 6 and 1, 18, 66, comp. also 1, 1, 13, and 1, 18, 58. The eight-page index does not give even an approximate notion of the value of the commentary.—Dr. Wilkins has naturally much to say about Keller, and every one will welcome the appearance of Keller's convenient text-edition of *Horace* (Q. H. F. opera edd. O. KELLER et I. HÄUSSNER, Leipzig, Freytag, 1885). In the *Praefatio* the critical principles of the famous *Epilegomena* are insisted on. The type is beautifully clear. The text is preceded by a *conspectus metrorum* which follows the traditional system, and by passages from the Greek poets, which Horace is known or is supposed to have imitated. If we only had more! The retranslation into Greek explains many Horatian problems.—MR. VERRALL's remarkable *Studies in Horace*, a book which has engaged the attention of all Horatian scholars, will receive examination in an early number of this Journal.

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DR. HOLDEN's edition of *Plutarch's Gracchi* (Cambridge, University Press, 1885) has all the excellences that mark the work of this unwearied scholar. He has chosen these two lives because of the momentous problems involved, and because Plutarch, as he thinks, is seen here at his best. An

elaborate introduction enables the student to understand the movement of the times, and the commentary and lexical index provide everything that can be reasonably desired for the elucidation of the text and the guidance of the young Grecian through the peculiarities of Plutarch's grammar and vocabulary. Goodwin is the standard of reference, but Hadley-Allen is also cited at times with advantage. The mechanical execution is beautiful, as is to be expected of the Pitt Press, but middle-aged eyes rebel against so much nonpareil Greek, and the proof-reader has evidently himself grown weary at times. So in the Greek of p. 61, which was taken at random as a specimen, there are from ten to a dozen misprints in accentuation and spelling. Further examination shows that the specimen is no specimen, but a 'sport,' and the writer of this note has learned by long and sad experience extreme leniency in such matters.

B. L. G.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Gombo Zhèbes : Little Dictionary of Creole Proverbs ; selected from six Creole dialects. By L. Hearn. New Orleans, *J. C. Eyrich*, 1885. cl. 8vo. \$1.00.

Sievers (Eduard). An Old-English Grammar ; tr. and ed. by Albert S. Cook. Boston, *Ginn, Heath & Co.*, 1885. xv + 235 pp. cl. 12mo. \$1.25.

Socin (A.) Arabic Grammar, Paradigms, Literature, Chrestomathy, and Glossary. New York, *B. Westermann & Co.*, 1885. xvi + 191 pp. 12mo. (Porta linguarum orientalium, inchoavit J. H. Petermann, continuavit Herm. L. Strack, pars 4.) pap., \$2.60.

Webster (N.) Condensed Dictionary. Edited under the supervision of Noah Porter, D. D., by Dorsey Gardner. Illustrated. 12mo, viii—798 pp. New York. 10s.

### BRITISH.

Caesar, de Bello Gallico. Book 8, with a Map and English Notes, by A. G. Peskett. (Pitt Press series.) 12mo, 74 pp. *Cambridge Warehouse*. 1s. 6d.

Chatterjee (Bunkim Chandra). Kopal Kundala : A tale of Bengali Life. Translated from the Bengali by H. A. D. Phillips. Post 8vo, 230 pp. *Trübner*. 6s.

Cicero. By Rev. W. Lucas Collins. New ed. (Ancient Classics.) 12mo, 194 pp. *Blackwoods*. 2s. 6d.

— Letters of. Selected and edited, with Introduction and Notes, by J. H. Muirhead. Post 8vo, 316 pp. *Rivingtons*. 6s.

Dutt (Toru). Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan. With Introductory Memoir by Edmund Gosse. 12mo, 166 pp. *Paul, Trench & Co.* 5s.

Falconer (I. G. N. Keith-). Kalilah and Dimnah ; or, The Fables of Bidpai : being an Account of their Literary History. 8vo, 406 pp. *Cambridge Warehouse*. 7s. 6d.

Homer's Iliad, Book 22. Edited, with Notes for the use of Junior Students, by Arthur Sidgwick, M. A. 2d ed. Fcap. 8vo, 61 pp. *Rivingtons*. 1s. 6d.

Horace's Epistles. Edited, with Notes, by Augustus S. Wilkins. 12mo, 454 pp. *Macmillan*. 6s.

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